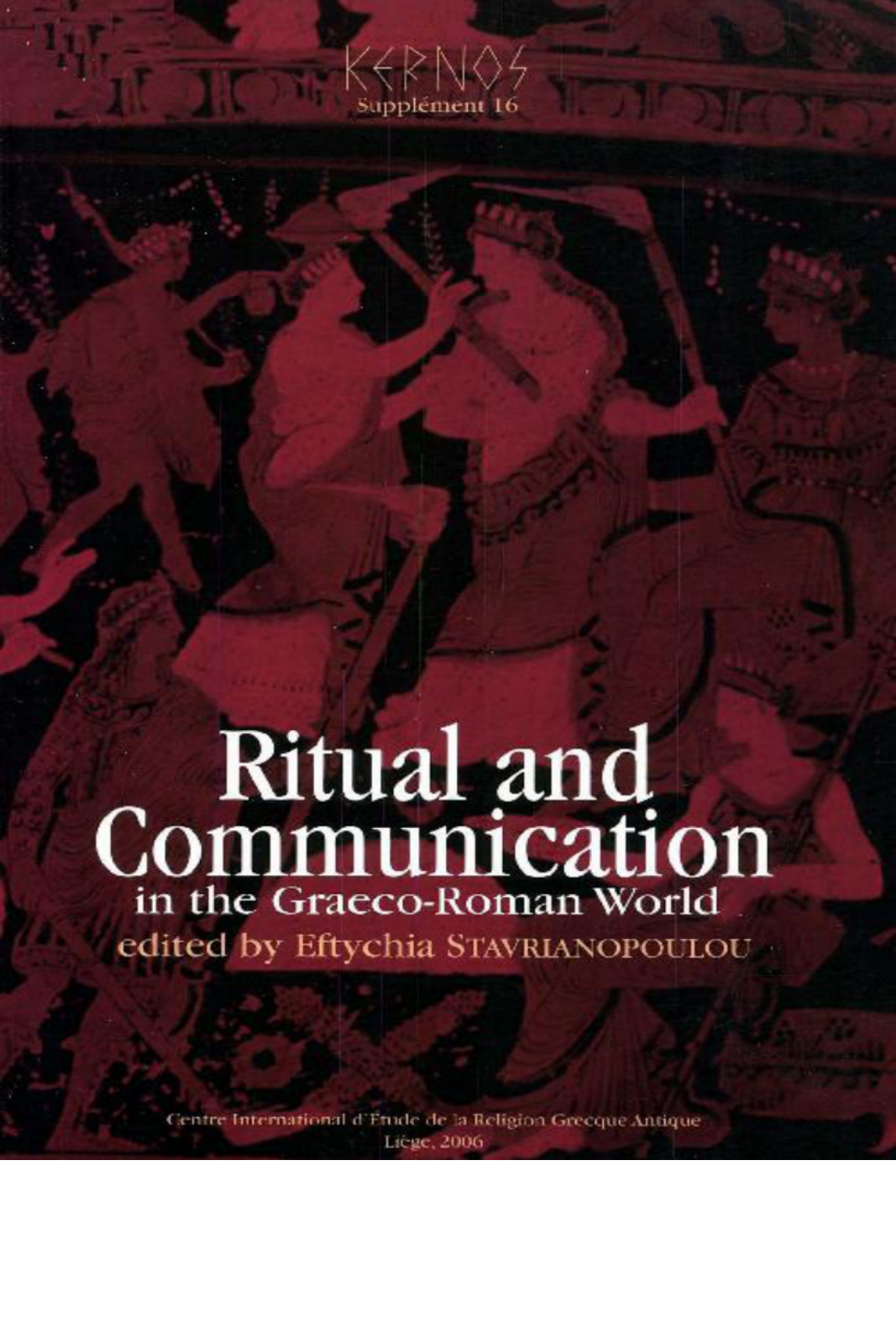


Ritual and Communication in the Graeco-Roman World

Eftychia Stavrianopoulou

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in the Graeco-Roman World

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Eftychia Stavrianopoulou (dir.)

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The analysis of the dynamic nature of rituals has become a heuristic tool for the investigation not only of religious behaviour and beliefs, but also for the study of social practice and communication in ancient and modern societies. From public assembly gatherings and funerals to celebration of cult feasts or the honouring of individuals, rituals mark socially important occasions, define beginnings and endings, and aid social transitions. Thus, rituals carry all kinds of messages intended to support and express the performance of those involved, and to create the desired results. The present volume brings together a collection of articles on rituals in the Graeco-Roman world, focussing on the interconnection between ritual as a means of communication and communication as a ritual phenomenon. In regarding rituals as an interface in the realm of cultural practices, the contributors demonstrate the manifold function of ritual communication in the life of ancient communities.

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Introduction

Eftychia Stavrianopoulou

The form which is ritual is surely without
communicational equivalents.

*

1

During the last two decades, the field of ritual studies has reached beyond its traditional boundaries in terms of academic disciplines and of the subject areas. The analysis of rituals has become a heuristic tool for the investigation not only of religious behaviour and beliefs, but also for the study of social practices in ancient and modern societies. The results of many ritual studies show that rituals are not static, as had been previously thought by scholars and believed by ritual participants, but rather subject to dynamic changes. These changes can occur accidentally or intentionally; they can lead to the transformation of an entire ritual or the modification of some of its elements; changes in and of rituals can be observed on a diachronic as well as on a synchronic level.

2

The concept of ritual dynamics opens up new perspectives and, in a way, bridges the ‘gap’ between an exclusive and an inclusive definition of ritual as purely religious in nature. Rituals are now more to be seen as schematised actions in an interpersonal and social context with clearly delineated beginnings and endings (*frame*) that marks them as distinct events.

1

“‘Schematised’ should be understood here to mean that the action can be described in its sequence, and therefore can be imitated and

repeated – a repetitive pattern, construable as a ‘script’” (Burkert). Rituals are performed, i.e. carried out in a stylized way, which aims to attract the attention of the addressees and to focus on the message of the ritual.

2

It is through the media of body, language, gestures that the ‘script’ will be interpreted in order to please a public as well as to persuade, foster community or to deal with the sacred.

3

Rituals are thus performative and communicative. As a matter of fact, communication through rituals is not just an alternative way of expressing something, but the expression of things that cannot be expressed in any other way.

4

Yet this assumption does not explain the manner in which rituals work to generate a social form of consensual meaning.

5

3

The present volume brings together a collection of articles on rituals in the Graeco-Roman world, with a special focus on their communicative function in the public life of communities. The purpose is to examine the interconnection between ritual as a means of communication and communication as a ritual phenomenon. Thus the volume is concerned with communication as ritual as well as with rituals of communication. Further emphasis is also placed upon the communication of a ritual or of a modification in ritual.

4

The initial question has to do with placing ritual communication in the Graeco-Roman world in the context of all communicatory customs of this period. Besides oral and written communication, the one by ritual is to be investigated as a third form. What makes the latter special is precisely the connection of non-verbal symbols with verbal ones and their situative rules, as well as with the written texts integrated in these. The interaction among these elements enables the exchange of messages of all kinds on the one hand,

6

and is flexible enough, on the other, to adapt to new communications needs. In other words, analysis of ritual communication testifies to the underlying mentality and its historical changes, being at the same

time subject to these same historical changes. Ritual communication is thus to be seen as a part of public life.

5

But what exactly was the function of ritual communication in the life of the Greek communities? What are the tasks of public rituals in the relations between community, groups and individuals? How are communicative aspects of ritual or ritualised behaviour defined, behaviour observable in all important actions of the social and political life of the Greeks – at the symposium and the victory celebration, at the public assembly and the diplomatic negotiations, at the commencement of a journey or at a funeral? How is the success of the ritual as a medium of communication guaranteed, or that of the communication through ritual?

6

These questions are intended to initiate the discussion of different phenomena, which are subsumed under the label of 'ritual'. They all have in common primarily that they are a chain of actions, gestures and words following a pattern, which they repeat, thus creating an effect of recognition. Various practices may be in the foreground in this process, the performance may be carried out in a non-intentional manner,

7

or it can be the result of conscious planning by means of which the participants produce a consensus on the intended course beforehand. One must reckon with the possibility that only a few of the participants or spectators may have been involved in the planning, while others merely took part, or also experienced (and were intended to experience) the ritual as a special event.

8

Put somewhat differently, the study of the efficacy and perception of rituals is dependent upon the context and can be very different from case to case, even if we are investigating the same type of ritual. Efficacy is to be equated here with successful communication, for success (understanding, fulfilment of intention) means that the 'language' used in the ritual involved was mastered and accepted by those taking part. This is the point at which the specific impact of rituals on communication in the Graeco-Roman world can be shown.

Ritual as communication: changes in ritual and their impact on communication

7

Rituals fulfil various communicative tasks such as the transmission of norms of behaviour, the demonstration of intentions, the assignment of tasks and roles, the inclusion or exclusion of individuals. In ritual the borders between the past and the present are surmounted, as, for example, the rituals of historical commemoration days in the Greek antiquity demonstrate: the performance of religious rituals at commemorations for people and events, which were collectively experienced, contributed to adapting the contemporary memory to the mythical past.

9

The speeches held on these occasions included all living and deceased members of a community by means of the first person plural ('we'), from the mythical first ancestors to the contemporaries and their descendants. Even though rituals become the guarantors of a continuity overcoming time, they can, on the other hand, evoke the characteristics of their own time. A generation gap is expressed by the references to the 'customs of the ancestors' in the rhetoric of rituals, but they also form a bridge between the past, present and future.

8

Seen in this way, rituals carry all kinds of messages intended to support the action and speech of those involved, to express these, and, not least, to bring about their desired efficacy. This is accomplished by means of the performance of ritual, in which the 'message' is negotiated between actors and spectators. This process of negotiation can be reduced to the readiness or agreement to carry out a certain standardised version of a ritual, or to undertake certain symbolic actions. But it can also lead to new accents being set. Some of the ritual sequences, which already exist, may be put together differently or experience a different emphasis.

9

It is possible that new performative elements may be introduced,

which have been transferred from a stock of other (secular or religious) ritual contexts, or which may even have been invented for this purpose. It is equally possible that the community, under certain circumstances, articulates a protest against performing certain rituals and refuses them. Dynamic changes of this kind result from the interplay between the particular historical, social and cultural conditions. They represent the result of a (re-)negotiation of the rituals, which was necessary for communicative reasons. If we see “every instance of communication as a synthesis of the ideal and the material, the individual and the collective”,

10

then it is understandable that alterations in one or more of these elements would entail the failure of the ritual communication as a consequence.

10

Nonetheless, these alterations must be explained, legitimised, ‘understood’; above all, they must integrate in such a fashion that they reflect the general consensus, support the functions of the rituals in stabilising the system, and continue to preserve the appearance of their ‘immutability’. Changes thus affect both the structures of a ritual and the functions, and they influence the experiences of the participants to the same extent. But they simultaneously give us information on the *dynamis* of the rituals themselves.

11

Changes in rituals can be established with the help of the literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources, although testimonials to the interventions themselves are rare. The difficulties in tracing alterations can be of different degree and character, as is shown in the contributions by Frederick G. Naerebout and Joannis Mylonopoulos. In both, the changes in ritual performance and the role of the medium are highlighted. Using a performative element such as dance, or investigating the configuration of ritual spaces, they attempt on the one hand to define methodological questions, and on the other to demonstrate the processes of change *per se*.

12

Dance, as Naerebout defines it, is “a specific kind of intentional, performative motor behaviour”. Together with music, it belongs to

the non-verbal elements that were transmitted primarily orally and aurally. Dance occurs beside the voice of the ritual actor reciting a text, but also in place of a reading, recitation, song or appeal. Thus, dance is simultaneously a carrier of text, giving the ritual performance a form. However, in contrast to a ritual text, which can be fixed in writing and therefore enables (in theory) identical performances, dance is *a priori* of an ephemeral nature. This means that every dance performance is not only different, but also that changes and alterations can be a part of the constantly renewed form of a ritual from the start. All the more interesting, then, is the question of the preservation, dissemination and transmission of a 'tradition'. What processes, what media, permit learning and transmission of non-coded ritual performances? Firstly, by means of mimic processes, which, whether through direct participation or passive observation, enable repetition of a particular performance according to a certain scheme, thus guaranteeing the 'authenticity' of the performance and the efficacy of the ritual. By means of mimesis large or small changes can be internalised in such a way that they become a part of the ritual *habitus*.

11

Thereby a common level of communication is created, permitting each of the participants to follow the *dromena*, regardless of his or her level of education.

13

In this regard Mylonopoulos speaks of the ritual mimetic actions as "a communicative medium in Greek religion that has hardly been researched". The analysis of the medium of the architectural space, using the examples of building activities in the sanctuaries of Demeter in Corinth, Lykosoura and Pergamon, of that of the Kabiroides in Samothrace and that of Artemis in Brauron, has shown that religious action does not signify exclusively active participation, but also encompasses passive participation, i.e. participation by observation or by listening to a message. The integration of theatres or tiered constructions in sanctuaries indicates options of communication in the ritual performance, which exceed the simple observation of the ritual sacrifice at the altar. They also reflect, however, a change in perception of the ritual actions taking place in a sanctuary. Constructions such as the stairways in the sanctuaries of

Demeter can be connected to the visual experience of myths in a framework of mimetic representation, and are to be interpreted as a testimonial to altered ritual behaviour. Are we confronted here with an externalisation of mimesis “into a more permanent shape, either verbalised or turned into imagery” (Naerebout)? What is the new role of the medium of architecture in carrying out this ritual communication? Does the increase in performative accents and elements somehow mean that new media and ways of communication with the deities and among the participants had become necessary? What is the connection between the changes in ritual and its spatial setting?

14

The interaction observable between ritual action and sacral space can be demonstrated with the example of the architectural design of the banqueting rooms at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on the Akrocorinth. Specifically, the changes in the perception of the ritual sacrificial meal on the diachronic level are reflected. Between the late 6th century BC and the 1st century BC a series of construction activities were undertaken, focussing on the lower terrace as the scene of communal feasting. The construction of at least 16 small buildings on the lower terrace, each one with continuous low benches large enough for six to seven people to lie on them, indicates the enormous importance of the communal meal “in the course of the late 6th century BC, displaying an almost institutional character”, as Mylonopoulos points out. In the 5th century BC there are no longer one-room buildings, but buildings with a dining room and auxiliary rooms, where some 200 people could dine. After complete destruction of the banqueting rooms by an earthquake in the final years of the 4th century, the newly constructed buildings were of the same size and remained unchanged until their final destruction in 146 BC. After the founding of the Roman colony, the sanctuary was again put into use, but no indications of communal cult feasting have been found.

15

The architectural sequence informs us of changes in the practice of ritual feasting and of the changes in the perception of its message. The sixteen one-room buildings for 6-7 people each display an organisation which structured the relations between those women who participated both in the sacrificial ritual and the subsequent

feast, and those who were only permitted to participate in the sacrificial ritual. The ritual formed an inner circle and an outer circle. Sixteen further lines were drawn within the inner circle, corresponding to the banquet rooms (one family per room?). In other words, the building remains reflect the horizontal and the vertical communication as well as the identities which were evoked by the participation in this ritual, and which were confirmed by it as well. The subsequent new construction of banqueting halls, in which around two hundred participants could eat, indicates in turn that these delimitations were abolished and a new cult community was formed. The participation in the ritual, a quasi status symbol, was replaced by a 'democratic' mode of participation. The identifying function of the ritual by means of distinction was put aside in favour of a newly defined identifying function.

16

In the case of ritual alterations, we have to do, then, with communicative adaptations. They originate in the communication among the participants themselves, in that these absorb the particular social and historical context and interpret them symbolically; they also define them. These changes can take various forms. Ritual elements or even ritual sequences may be transferred from 'outside', already existing ones may be put together as 'building blocks' for a 'new' ritual,

12

or they may be Supplémented by the addition of new elements. Rituals can even be invented, and yet claim the appearance of tradition for themselves. As Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge rightly determines, "ritual dynamics points at the same time to the ritual's place and role in the society at a given time, and to the vitality and variability of its meanings in the course of time."

17

Because of their communicative tasks, rituals represent an important interface in the tense realm of cultural (religious, political, social) practices between tradition and modernity, and they enable the construction of a useful, if somewhat disputed, "practical nostalgia",

13

useful for the individual and the collective actors. The festival of Artemis Laphria in Patrae, as documented by Pausanias, and the

description of the burial of Philopoimen in Plutarch are two such examples. The puzzling ritual of the Laphria becomes understandable, as soon as one takes into consideration the various semantic levels with regard to the historical context and to the ideology of the observer (here: Pausanias). Pirenne-Delforge shows that the cult of Artemis Laphria was a ritual invention, which was intended to form the bridge between the past and the present, but also between 'Greek' and 'Graeco-Roman' identity. The invented sacrifice ritual, the highlight of the festival, is primarily intended to form a communal religious experience for the inhabitants of the Colonia Augusta, one all their own; thus an *epichôrios thysia*. The epiklesis *Laphria* was to create a connection with the ancient cult of Artemis in Calydon in Aetolia, while the performance of the sacrificial ritual reflected both the Greek and the Roman religious ideas of the huntress goddess Diana-Artemis: "It was perfectly in accordance with the Roman violent shows and the taste for presumed antiquity." (Pirenne-Delforge)

18

Pausanias says nothing of the 'tradition' of the ritual observed by him, and conveys to us its "taste for presumed antiquity" (Pirenne-Delforge). In other words, he invents the ritual of the Laphria a second time for his readers, this time as an authentic and local product of Greek cultic practices. In a similar fashion the heavily emotional burial of Philopoimen in Plutarch may be analysed. The analysis by Peter Kató shows that the Plutarchian description represents an independent version, which was based on contemporary burial practices for persons from the elite classes, as well as on the author's own political ideas. The textual transformations experienced by the sacrificial ritual of the Laphria or the funerary ritual of Philopoimen at the hands of Pausanias and Plutarch indicate that rituals clearly are not only to be regarded as repositories of tradition, but also as indications of alternative contemporary models. On the other hand, both authors act as inventors or modifiers of rituals. It is they who undertake alterations in the rituals they describe, within the process of communing with their readers. Here the text does not just limit itself to reproducing a ritual, but forms it. The text becomes an extension of the ritual itself, and the authors its agents.

In addition, the conscious effort on the part of Plutarch to adapt the burial practices to those of his own time emphasises what is meant by the communicative function of ritual. The adaptation was indeed rendered necessary by the changes in ritual practice, for the Polybian version was probably incomprehensible for Plutarch's public. The funerary ritual may have shown the same ritual sequences at first glance in both Polybios' and Plutarch's times, but its performance had changed, as is shown by contemporaneous epigraphical testimonies. And together with these changes the semantics of the ritual had been altered, too. In the political and social life in the communities of Roman Asia Minor, the members of the elite class and the citizens had a direct impact on the message of the funerary rituals, being at the same time influenced by them.

Plutarch's version points to ritual changes on a diachronic level. More complex is the identification of ritual changes taking place on a synchronic level. The ritual of swearing an oath is a case in point. Irene Berti, in her analysis of this ritual, has been able to show, using the Homeric epics, that not *one* ritual of swearing existed, but many such rituals or variants. Although some of the ritual elements such as the self-curse, the sacrifice or sacrifice-like procedure and the gesture of touching are recognisably especially important, they are not always represented in the rituals of swearing that have been transmitted to us. Sometimes they are represented, sometimes only a part is there. In this regard, the private or public character of the occasion does not seem to have had any influence upon the enactment of the ritual. Thus, treaties between states were finalised in just the same manner as the *engye*, namely by shaking hands. Various performances of oath-rituals, on the other hand, were applied within the same context. As Berti establishes, "one element can summarize and include the others: for instance, the slaughtering of the animals can be preceded or followed by the self-curse [...] In other cases, the victims do not seem to be touched, or there are no victims at all, but only the gesture of touching, for instance the altar or the earth, or the hands of the other oath-takers."

But what do these observations mean with regard to the dynamic

processes underpinning a ritual? Are the differences, which have been established in carrying out the oath-rituals modifications of these, or are they rather transformations of the ritual? As Walter Burkert emphasises, the purpose of the oath is to “exclude lies, lies in every form, tricks, twisting words, peculiar additions [...] and thus to construct a reliable world of sense.” In order to fulfil this function, the oath was spoken within a ritual event and before witnesses (human as well as divine). This means that any change in the ‘statement’ of what was spoken had to be confirmed by the actions undertaken in the course of the ritual. “Greater than words and imagination, the action, the carrying out of a ritual in connection with everything that one feels and says, is what gives the assurances, appeals and curses their direct and realistic seriousness” (Burkert). This means that form and meaning stand, and must stand, in an interrelationship with each other, if one wants the ritual to be successful. Changes to the performance may trigger changes to the semantics of the ritual and *vice versa*, i.e. semantic change may entail alterations of the performance. Thus, the presence or absence of one or more elements in the ritual performance may be caused by an adaptation to givens such as the occasion or the participants, without the function of the oath-taking ritual being questioned – at least by the participants.

22

Using the example of the oath-rituals, one can observe how the application of emotional elements such as the animal sacrifice or the gesture of touching called forth the communication between participants in the ritual and, not least, its transformation as well.

14

This communication took place not only between those present, but also between those present and those not present – divinities, other members of the cult group, and potential traitors. The slaughtered animal or the metal bars sunk into the sea were intended to represent the fate of the one who broke his oath, and to intensify the emotions of the one swearing the oath. This intensification was intentional and was expected in other rituals such as funerals, too. On the other hand, the *leges sacrae* inform us that the Greek poleis repeatedly attempted to regulate these emotions, in particular in connection with what is probably the most emotionally laden ritual of all, the burial of the

dead. But why? Were strong emotions regarded as ‘dangerous’, and if so, how were they controlled?

23

“Did the Greeks intend the performance of rituals to be an emotional experience of togetherness?” is the question posed by Angelos Chaniotis. The answer is without doubt ‘yes’, not least because of the characteristic community-building effect of ritual, widely cited ever since E. Durkheim. The question is, nevertheless, justified, because emotions, as a constitutive element of ritual efficacy, contribute to the ‘success’ of a ritual.

15

Nota bene, the ‘right’ ones do, those emotions that are desired and considered to be appropriate for the particular ritual context. Undesirable emotions, that is those which do not fit in with the ‘ritual stance’ of the participants, can lead to the failure of the efficacy of the ritual, and thus of the experience of togetherness. When the ritual regulation inscriptions deal with the control and norming of emotional conditions, then this is a matter of establishing a particular behaviour: a ‘ritual commitment’ is required of the participants.

24

Rituals are not always seen as being harmonising and unifying, leading to a consensus, and can indeed be applied in a fighting and rivalising way.

16

In the context of carrying out ritual identities, political struggles, hierarchies or social positions may be negotiated. These negotiations also run their course in an emotional fashion and can undermine the ritual stance of the participants, thus influencing the performance. Processions are among this kind of public and collective ritual, in the course of which murders, armed uprisings or rapes could occur. The examples of the murder of the Peisistratid Hipparchos during the Panathenaic Procession (514 BC, Thucydides I, 20, 2) or the attack on procession participants in Sardeis by religious fanatics during a procession in honour of Artemis Ephesia (approx. 340-320 BC, *I.Ephesos* 2) are countered by regulations which detail the form and course of a procession. On the one hand, they confirm the social hierarchy by means of minutely established ordering of participants; on the other, they include the entire free – and often the non-free –

population by declaring the day of the procession a ‘holiday’ for all; business must not be conducted, crimes should not be prosecuted, slaves should be released from their chains, the citizens should wear garlands of flowers and be grouped according to their tribes (LSAM 81). Do such regulations aim at forming a common identity alone? Or does this also have to do – as Chaniotis maintains – with regulating the “emotions of the individuals and the manifold tensions in interpersonal relations”? One cannot escape the impression that the aim was to control both the ‘frame’ of the ritual and the ritual stance of the individual participants. That both depend on each other and co-exist, with a fragile harmony between them that had to be preserved, is quite obvious.

25

It is equally obvious that the ritual stance depends on the context. The borderline between ‘permissible’ and ‘impermissible’ emotions is adapted again and again to the existing political and social facts. The performance of funerary rituals is a characteristic example of this. Ancient Greece, starting with Solon, produced a series of normative interventions with regard to burials.

17

In these, among other things, the ‘behaviour’ of those taking part in a burial was discussed and regulated: which persons from the family circle were permitted to attend the actual interment, when may one weep for the dead person and when not, who may participate in the *ekphora*, and in which sequence. Plato, *Leges*, 959c-960a, notes that “to make regulations about whether one should weep for the dead or not would be unsuitable”, but he also points out the significance of a “good, well-ordered” funeral.

26

In the regulations for funerary rituals the intention is the same as in texts dealing with the ‘correct’ procedure for a cult act (e.g. processions), namely the control of the behaviour of those participating, more exactly, the avoidance of any wrong behaviour which could not only endanger the funerary ritual, but the entire community. Behaviour designates what is characteristically expressed by means of attitude, clothing, and handling and serves to express to others that one is prepared to follow the given rules and ignore any other possibilities.

Thus, loud weeping over the dead at home was considered permissible emotional behaviour, while loud wailing outside the house, whether during the funeral procession or at the grave, was considered an emotionally uncontrollable, hysterical behaviour and was seen as a disorderly ritual stance.

27

Emotions thus contain the danger of overturning the order which ritual is supposed to create or confirm. For this reason, emotions must be subject to the particular social function of the ritual (in this case, the funerary rituals), and their expression is not to endanger the performance of the ritual and, consequently, its success, in any way. The demonstration of emotions during the performance of funerary rituals was indeed the subject of close observation and criticism, as Manolis Skountakis reveals in his paper. Using the example of the consolatory work of Plutarch, *Consolatio ad uxorem*, the hyperbole (extravagant display) of the emotions in funerary rituals is discussed. Plutarch denounces the ways in which people perform burials and the mourning customs of his day, because of the expressions of immoderate grief. What Plutarch criticises is not the ritual itself, but rather the unacceptable way the ritual is performed. The ritual attitude of the participants is, in his opinion, not only excessive, but is put on in a downright theatrical manner.

28

The concentration of Plutarch's criticism on this point itself hints at a change in the funerary rituals. The enrichment of the ritual performance with emotional elements, which according to tradition were to be suppressed, led to the theatricality of the ritual. The funerary ritual was no longer dedicated to the deceased; rather it offered a stage for self-representation of relatives and other participants, and for their social and political desires and needs. The inscriptions document this change with regard to the funerals of the elite, with Plutarch's description of the funeral for Philopoimen delivering further testimonial to this. Kató was able to demonstrate that this scene, so full of emotions, indeed uncontrolled emotions on the part of the inhabitants of Megalopolis, was modelled on the similar public funerals for important persons in the Greek cities of the Empire. Whether Plutarch unconsciously fell victim to his own

criticism, or distinguished between private and public funerary rituals, may be safely left aside here; his literary adaptation shows that in his time public funerary rituals played a large role in the hierarchisation of society and its constant confirmation.

29

Rituals, however, can also burden a community under certain circumstances; they are misunderstood or even refused; they become dispensable, and then their continuation depends on the (not undisputed) efforts of individuals who see themselves as preservers of tradition. This public discourse on the preservation or re-introduction of rituals can be examined with the help of popular decisions, as far as these have been preserved. Stefan Hotz distinguishes between already neglected traditional rituals and those, which were threatened with neglect. Because the inscriptional testimony dates from the Roman Imperial Period, the reasons for interrupting the rituals generally have to do with the financial position of the Greek cities of the time. Members of the local elite undertook the developed initiatives, but they had first to be negotiated. The reference to the past and to tradition – particularly in the course of the Second Sophistic –, but also to personal piety forms the motive of the initiators. Where the documents permit a closer examination of the chances of success, one can observe how temporary these attempts at restitution were. Again, rituals can be established as an important interface between tradition and the present, since all initiatives for the preservation of ‘ancestral customs’ were aimed at this and the preservation was used as an argument. The fact that some rituals were no longer attractive, were neglected or abolished reveals above all the fragility of the rituals, when the tie between the ritual and its specific context was broken. Rituals may be subject to change as long as they are given a certain communicative function. If this interaction no longer takes place, then rituals are indeed “meaningless”,

19

or, better said, “they do not function at all”.

20

Communication as ritual

The communicative aspect of ritual is essential and indeed part of the definition of ritual.

21

Seen in this way, ritual is not only a suitable medium for enabling communication or transmitting a message, but represents a kind of 'language'. *Communicare* is to be understood as both 'to communicate' and 'to participate, take part in, do something communally, unify'. From this starting point, "a ritual conception of communication" has been postulated as an alternative to the usual transportation or transmission conception.

22

"The transportation conception of communication emphasizes information and the effectivity of communication across space; the ritual view emphasizes meaning and the maintenance of society in time."

23

This criticism is thus aimed at the conventional view of communication as the simple transmission of information, which concentrates primarily on the results of communication, rather than the interactions and the processual character of communication *per se*.

31

Seeing communication as a transmission of information, data or signals with established significations evokes the model of action and reaction, or of being influential as opposed to having no influence. However, if one sees communication as a ritual, then the emphasis is more on the performance than the process as such, on participation rather than use, on the meaning rather than the result; in a ritual, one is not just a listener, but also a creator.

32

Creativity manifests itself in the case of free associations and their contribution to the construction of the meaning of ritual. Henk S. Versnel analyzes the different mechanisms, which activate the "near unlimited and endlessly productive potential of free association or analogy" by interpreting examples from the individual and collective ritual practice; one of them concerns the festival of Thesmophoria. Seemingly the behaviour of the married women participating in the festival violated the cultural norms and values and evoked

associations that became part of the ritual complex: The liberation of the prisoners and the suspension of the court sessions reflected the abnormal situation during the festival; the simulated temporary return of the married women to the premarital status of the virgin ("bees") neutralized what was intolerable according to the family codes. To perceive a ritual in such a specific way is in itself a convention resulting from a previous communication, which had occurred again on the occasion of a ritual performance. Thus, the detection of associations provoked by ritual permit us an insight not only in the construction of a ritual, but also in the creation of its message(s).

33

The concept of communication offshoot as ritual can be observed by means of those inscriptions, which are called *leges sacrae* in research on the ancient world. The umbrella category of the *leges sacrae* may only be partially justified, but the subsumed testimonials do document communication with regard to sacral matters. Ivana and Andrej Petrović discuss the metrical sacral regulations, and Eftychia Stavrianopoulou analyses regulations of existing rituals or the introduction of new ones as resolved upon by a group of persons such as the popular assembly. Both contributions analyse the levels of communication embedded in these inscriptions and the factors guaranteeing these communications. Metrical sacred regulations appear in numerous contexts and may contain an oracular response. The oracular sacred regulations demonstrate directness in the communication between the deity and the community. The community asks the divinity a question or for advice, and the deity answers. The answer in the form of a metrical oracle is one of the characteristics, which define the authenticity of the communication and the legitimacy of the subsequent action. The second characteristic of these oracular sacred regulations is that they are not only unrelated to one particular situation, but also consisted of general instructions concerning the relationships with divinities, such as the importance of purity. In this way, they not only communicate to the reader a few specific regulations concerning the religious life of the community, but, through their form and their set of contextual characteristics, they also express the ritual conception of communication between the community and the deity, between the members of the community, and between the reader, the deity,

and the community.

34

This last point becomes apparent when one analyses the non-oracular metrical sacred regulations. In this *Gattungskreuzung* the divinity does not speak through an oracle to the reader or to the community, but the elements of the oracular regulations (metrical form, gnomic statements, demands for purity) were adopted in order to make this impression or, better said, to guarantee communication on all the levels mentioned previously. Here, a transfer of the ritual form of communication from the oracular to the non-oracular regulations has taken place?

35

In the non-metrical *leges sacrae*, too, communicative processes are documented, in which a series of transformations of ritual were negotiated. They point to a series of actions, which take place on several levels and in which no clear-cut border between active agents or senders and passive spectators or receivers can be recognised. The facets of this communicative process can be analysed if one sees the entire thing as a 'game' whose rules must be defined. In this way, those factors are determined which permit changes in ritual to be seen as suitable and acceptable: who is responsible for the changes, what means are used to effect change, and how are changes in ritual legitimised? The observation that these negotiations are carried out in a performative manner is fundamental. At a particular place (the popular assembly) and at a particular time the communication about a particular proposal took place; the roles of agent and spectator were continually negotiated in the course of the event. The whole event was successful, or rather effective, when the results of the negotiation were seen and felt by all participants to be communal. The typical formula of enactment, ἐδο

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37

The decrees among the *leges sacrae* show us how ordinary communication conducted on a daily level can lead to the symbolic and real constitution and construction of a new order, which is normally considered to be part of the efficacy of rituals. That rituals were also used for communication in asymmetrical or

hierarchical relations is nothing new; one need only consider, for example, the communication between divinities and humans. The possibilities opened up by this ritual communication are, however, interesting; in particular the adaptations needed for the construction or confirmation of such relations. The relation between king (ruler) and subjects is one such asymmetrical relation.

38

Annika B. Kuhn investigates those processes of communication triggered by the cult of the ruler, in this case Demetrius Poliorcetes. The equation of Macedonian kings with divine beings led to a reinterpretation and inversion of rituals belonging to the mode of communication between mortals and deities. One of them is the ritual of the *theoxenia*: quartering Demetrius in the Parthenon was intended to symbolise the assimilation of the king with the goddess Athena. In the Parthenon Athena is supposed to have received him as a guest and entertained him correspondingly. In this manner the accommodation was placed within a special ritual context, namely that of traditional hospitality in general and that of the ritual of the *theoxenia* in particular. *Theoxenia* is a term signifying the entertainment of divine guests in a mortal house. In the case of Demetrius the ritual has been inverted, for the goddess is now host for a mortal. A ritual, then, is being used to establish direct communication with a wider public. By means of the conscious inversion of the ritual the persons addressed are *drawn* to the message – Demetrius is supposed to be the equal of gods –, rather than the message being brought to the people.

39

The same observation can be made of the example of the Athenian *theoria* to Demetrius. The designation of the Athenian emissaries as *theoroi*, and, not least, the enquiry in the form of an oracular consultation of Demetrius were intended to place Demetrius in a particular context: he takes on the role of Pythia and in this fashion becomes a medium of divine will. The ritual of the *theoria* and the consultation of the oracle is thus altered, on the one hand making the person of Demetrius the main attraction, and on the other placing the communication between king and subjects on another level.

40

Described in this way, communication through ritual appears to be a useful means of solving difficult problems such as dealing with

asymmetrical relations. However, the further course of Demetrius' life shows that the communication was not successful after all. The three events – the tearing of the *peplos* during the Panathenaic Festival, the growth of hemlock around the altars of the Soteres, and finally the interruption of the procession during the Dionysiac Festival because of an unusual cold spell – were interpreted by Plutarch as a sign of divine disapproval of the change in ritual for Demetrius, initiated by the Athenians, and simultaneously as a divine refusal to communicate further with mortals. The communication between Demetrius and the Athenians characterised by the adaptation of already existing rituals and their traditions, failed precisely because of the use of these rituals. In other words, the 'ritual way of communicating' can fail, since rituals represent flexible forms of communication and their use always entails the danger of creating the very problems they attempt to solve. Thus, the dynamic process connected with the cult of the ruler provoked a contrary process, which can be seen in the divine intervention and subsequent deviations and failed rituals.

41

Another example of a hierarchical relation can be found in the political life in the smaller Egyptian cities during the High Roman Empire. Thomas Kruse investigates the ritualised communication between the populace and the magistrates, which took place in the context of festive gatherings or public meetings. Through the medium of acclamations the demos was able to express its approval or its criticism of the administrative practices of the magistrates – which was recorded in writing – and also to present its petitions. This ritual, however, also allowed the hierarchy to be renegotiated and emphasised. The acclamations thus offered a stage for face-to-face interaction, in the course of which both parties were alternately agents and actors. The aim was to obligate the other party and make one's own party heard by the other party. The ritual of praise served as the 'language', functioning at the same time as a kind of (meta-) medium, onto which direct and indirect messages were projected.

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42

The individual contributions are able to demonstrate the polycontextuality of the rituals, that is, their characteristic of

simultaneously referring to different contexts and addressing different levels of interaction: those directly participating, but also the political and social system in which they live, are addressed and involved in the context of a ritual, or by the ritual itself.

25

The special suitability of ritual for legal, religious, artistic, political, economic, intimate and familiar communication derives from the fact that it operates as a flexible interface. It is subject to changes and alterations and causes them, too. It guarantees tradition and the current order by absorbing prior actions related to them and enabling new orders to appear traditional.

43

The present volume originated in the context of the project 'Ritual and Communication in the Urban Communities of Ancient Greece' of the Collaborative Research Centre 619 on *Dynamics of Ritual*. With the exception of the contributions by Walter Burkert and Henk S. Versnel, the papers in this volume derive from discussions within the circle of those working on the project, and friends associated with it. The contributions have been organised into four thematic groups, but – as the introduction has perhaps shown – this grouping is arbitrary, for all of the papers touch upon more than one of the focal themes. Nevertheless, each contribution is involved in a kind of dialogue with the preceding one and the following one. The contributions by Burkert and Versnel, which act as a sort of frame for the others, originate from two public lectures presented on the occasion of the opening of the first and second phase respectively, of the Collaborative Research Centre. But these two papers represent the frame of this book in a further aspect, too, for both point out subject areas, which are yet to be investigated. I am indebted to both of them for permission to publish their contributions.

44

The resulting volume has been a collective effort from start to finish. In addition to the primary contributors, I want to express my gratitude to those whose generous assistance has proven invaluable and in many cases decisive. First among these come Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge and Angelos Chaniotis: Vinciane for her generous support, her patience and for accepting this volume for publication in this series; Angelos for his encouragement, advice and criticism at

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Notes

1 For the frame theory see E. Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*, New York, 1974; D. Handelman, *Models and Mirrors: Towards an Anthropology of Public Events*, New York-London, 1998² [1990], especially the new preface, and *id.*, “Re-Framing Ritual”, in J. Kreinath *et al.*, *The Dynamics of Changing Rituals*, New York, 2004 (*Toronto Studies in Religion*, 20), p. 9-20.

2 S.F. Moore, B.G. Myerhoff, “Introduction. Secular Ritual: Forms and Meanings”, in S.F. Moore, B.G. Myerhoff (eds), *Secular Ritual*, Amsterdam, 1975, p. 7-8; On performance theories see S.j. Tambiah, “A Performative Approach to Ritual”, in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 65 (1979), p. 113-169; V. Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre*, New York, 1982; C. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, Oxford/New York/Toronto, 1992, p. 37-46; R. Schechner, *Performance Theory*, London, 1998; *id.*, *Performance Studies: An Introduction*, London-New York, 2002; S. Goldhill, “Programme Notes”, in S. Goldhill, R. Osborne, *Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 1-29; E. Fischer-Lichte, “Performance, Inszenierung, Ritual. Zur Klärung kulturwissenschaftlicher Schlüsselbegriffe”, in J. Martschukat, S. Patzold (eds), *Geschichtswissenschaft und “performative turn”. Ritual, Inszenierung und Performanz vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit*, Köln *et al.*, 2003, p. 47-52.

3 R.A. Rappaport, “The Obvious Aspects of Ritual”, in *Ecology, Meaning, and Religion*, Berkeley, 1979, 173-221; Schechner, *o.c.* (n. 2: 2002), p. 38.

4 Tambiah, l.c. (n. 2); Bell, o.c. (n. 2), p. 111-113; R.A. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 174.

5 P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge, 2002" [1977], p. 106-109, 114-124.

6 J.G. Platvoet, "Das Ritual in pluralistischen Gesellschaften", in A. Bellinger, D.J. Krieger (eds), *Ritualtheorien*, Opladen/Wiesbaden, 1998, p. 185 (= "Ritual in Plural and Pluralist Societies: Instruments for Analysis", in J.G. Platvoet, K. van der Toorn (eds), *Pluralism and Identity. Studies in Ritual Behaviour*, Leiden, 1995).

7 Cf. Rappaport, o.c. (n. 3); C. Humphrey, J. Laidlaw, *The Archetypal Actions of Ritual*, Oxford, 1994, p. 88-110.

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10 E.W. Rothenbuhler, *Ritual Communication: From Everyday Conversation to Mediated Ceremony*, Thousand Oaks, 1998.

11 See *supra* n. 8.

12 B. Gladigow, "Sequenzierung von Riten und die Ordnung der Rituale", in: M. Stausberg (ed.), *Zoroastrian Rituals in Context*, Leiden/Boston, 2004 (*Studies in the History of Religions*, 102), p. 57-76.

13 I. Fairweather, "'Showing off'. Nostalgia and Heritage in North-Central Namibia", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29, 1 (2003), p. 279-296.

14 Cf. M. Kitts, *Sanctified Violence in Homeric Society*, Cambridge, 2005, p. 156 sq.

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19 F. Staal, "The Meaninglessness of Ritual", *Numen* 26 (1975), p. 2-22; *contra* A. Michaels, "«Le rituel pour le rituel?» oder Wie sinnlos sind Rituale?", in C. Carduff, J. Pfaff-Czarnecka (eds), *Rituale heute*, Berlin, 1999, p. 23-48.

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21 E.R. Leach, s.v. "Ritual", *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* 13 (1968), p. 520-526; Rothenbuhler, o.c. (n. 10), p. 53 sq.

22 For the transmission model see C.E. Shannon, W. Weaver, *A Mathematical Model of Communication*, Urbana, 1949. *Contra* J. Carey, *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society*, Boston, 1988; Rothenbuhler, o.c. (n. 10), p. 123-127.

23Rothenbuhler, o.c. (n. 10), p. 123.

24Platvoet, l.c. (n. 6), p. 177-178.

25 For the polycontextual nature of rituals see N.D. munn, "Symbolism in a Ritual Context", in J.J. Honigmann (ed), *Handbook of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, Chicago, 1973, p. 579-612.

Endnotes

* R.A. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 137.

Ritual between Ethology and Post-modern Aspects: Philological-historical Notes

1

Walter Burkert

1

I suppose we have to start with definition and a little theory, but I do not wish to remain there. I simply need to make clear what, in my opinion, is the matter at hand: I understand ritual to be a schematised action functioning as a message, as information in an interpersonal and social context. 'Schematised' should be understood here to mean that the action can be described in its sequence, and therefore can be imitated and repeated – a repetitive pattern, construable as a 'script'; 'message' should be taken to mean that a ritual action is to be perceived, it is demonstrative, often exaggeratedly pointed, to a greater degree than that directly intended for or effected by an action per se.

2

Here is a simple example. Man must drink; to this end he generally uses a container, which therefore must be filled first. When, as I was recently able to observe at a wedding in a temple in Japan, a festively dressed maiden quite carefully pours liquid out of a pitcher into a cup, three times, alternately for the bride and groom, and these latter then equally carefully and pointedly drink, each twice, from this cup, then that is a ritual, a schematised action meant as a message. I have mentioned this example because it shows how rituals are recognisable independently of any language: I know absolutely no Japanese, but I do believe that I have understood the ceremony to some extent. The ritual displays arrangement in its equal pairing and

placement of the two partners – the fact that the thing poured out and drunk was rice wine, sake, of which innumerable barrels are stored round about as an offering to the gods of the temple, is simply an additional element, I might say: local colour.

3

Ritual as a message is a type of language, a means of social interaction. From here we may approach several pathways of theory and question, particularly if we remember that for decades now, ever since Julian Huxley and Konrad Lorenz, we have been speaking of ritual among animals, with reason; the sense is that of communication by action in a social context. In man, then, language and ritual stand beside each other. Are rituals something from a pre-linguistic world? Were they present before human language was invented or developed? In what way, if any, have they been superseded by human language, or if not, why not? Is there some sort of continuity, an evolution from the one to the other? Or are these parallel, analogous developments and phenomena which but appear to have something in common? Doubtless there are human rituals that are created afresh, freshly invented, freshly regulated. On the other hand, as far as a 'message' is contained in ritual, there exists not only evolution, but, as is well-known, revolutions, explosions, quantum jumps in communication, in the transfer of information in our world, beginning with the good old telephone and telegraph in the 19th century, through the 'wireless' telegraph, to our net-worked computers and mobile phones with e-mail, SMS, UMTS and whatever future abbreviations may bombard us. In contrast are the immutable limitation and slowness of the rituals, as a rule limited to a manageable, face-to-face group, indeed, reduced to the corporeal. Mass actions of a theatrical nature, such as those at the Olympic Games or techno-led street parades, already have modern technical means of communication as an unconditional prerequisite.

4

But, as already mentioned, my view tends backward rather than forward, and I would now like to theorize less and to offer more specific examples. I will discuss three groups of traditional ritual, oath-rituals, hierarchy-rituals and death-rituals, taking the questions of age and evidence into consideration, and the question of their roots and functions; the question, too, of whether and to what extent

they have fallen out of our current social culture, or perhaps are still present, or at least leave a noticeable gap if they do disappear.

5

First, I would call to mind a complex in which ritual has an effect beside the spoken language – acts, indeed, as a complement to language per se. This is the practice of administering and taking oaths, something quite obviously archaic: *Meineid*, ‘perjury’, is an ancient Germanic concept. The word does not accommodate itself at all well in the frivolous modern society. But oath and perjury are still of central importance in the legal systems of modern states, with the most serious sanctions being threatened, even though the news media may recently have registered such only in connection with a spot on Monica Lewinsky’s dress. I prefer to quote John Locke, from his Letter on Toleration of 1689:

Lastly, those are not at all to be tolerated who deny the being of a God. Promises, covenants, and oaths, which are the bonds of human society, can have no hold upon an atheist.

6

Thus, oath and belief in a divinity are directly connected, and, as the foundation of society, not even a philosopher of the Enlightenment can do without them. Already in ancient times it was taken for granted that everyone had to have a god, his own god, in order to take and administer oath. As an atheist, he would not have been able to swear an oath. Oaths were a necessity of life at all levels, in the economy and in legal proceedings, in private and public life, within the city or the tribe and for international intercourse.

7

No contract, no pact, no legal act without an oath – this was the area where morals, law and religion necessarily met.

8

The oath is a linguistic phenomenon, owing its existence to the inadequacy of language. The weakness of the word is the possibility, indeed probability, of the lie. Cheating and trickery have always been part and parcel of social intercourse. In Latin the phrase *verba dare*, literally ‘to give words’, means more or less ‘to cheat’. The word *sensus*, ‘sense’ itself, in contrast to ‘word’, *verbum*, owes its career to a formula of swearing: “what I feel that I say” shall be valid, *quod me sentio dicere*, as opposed to simple words, which one can throw about, use to say things different from what one means.

Lies and trickery are probably part of our equipment for survival. Recently, psychologists have even wondered whether the discovery of lying in child-hood, at the age of approximately three or so, does not actually represent a decisive step in the development of intelligence, a step that would finally distinguish man from the chimpanzee. Quite a bit of pedagogical work is needed to suppress lying in children when it does finally make its appearance. Of course, those chimpanzees to whom a sort of language was taught did attempt very soon to lie to their keepers. It would seem reasonable, then, to assume that language and lies have gone hand in hand since the beginnings of civilisation. Among the types of traditional tale, those dealing with lies, trickery and cheating take pride of place in many cultures. And yet cooperation and exchange in human society are based on trust. Only when the behaviour of one's fellow man is at least partially predictable, when there is a set of values and rules in common, can positive interactions take place.

10

The purpose of the oath taken by responsible partners has always been just this: to exclude lies, lies in every form, tricks, twisting words, peculiar additions – “to tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth”, to fulfil the obligation without alteration, removal or false intent. We try to create clarity and thus to construct a reliable world of sense; true and false must be kept separated, just as right and wrong, friend and enemy. Language does not suffice to do this; language cannot stabilise itself with itself. If you add to a statement the coda that it is true and the contrary is false, this is nothing more than a rhetorical figure; the logical content is null, a critical opponent remains unconvinced. One must attempt to overstep the bounds of the closed semantic universe of the language.

11

Two strategies have been developed to this end that often go hand in hand: the use of witnesses, which guarantees a common mental world, and ritual events, which make complex and therefore noticeable marks, or symbols, which accompany the procedure as ‘unbreakable seals’. All-knowing witnesses are visible and invisible beings; the ritual symbols are supposed to radiate a cryptic causality, which can also appear as a power of punishment for the witnesses.

Both the witnesses and the ritual, in any case, possess an air of utter seriousness.

12

The introduction of super-empirical witnesses is a linguistic game that does not transmit information, but attempts to impress by means of an extended context. This has been called ‘*szenische Ergänzung*’ by Gerhard Baudy. International treaties as early as the Bronze Age rely on the eternal phenomena of the natural environment, the sun and the heavens, the clouds, the earth, the rivers. Hittite treaties and contracts quite routinely call upon ‘the mountains, the rivers, the springs, the great sea, Heaven and Earth, the winds and the clouds’: “let them be witness to this treaty and for the oath.” The Sun God, who ‘sees all’, has a special rank. Homer has the Trojans sacrifice one sheep for the Sun and one for the Earth at the great ceremony of swearing that is to end the war. This recognised linguistic game goes even further: gods belong to the ceremony of oath taking. It would probably be going too far to say that gods were invented for oath taking. But John Locke himself still holds to the indivisible connection of religion and oath. Gods are powerful; if they are angered, one may expect merciless punishment. But special demons are also called upon to watch over the oath and to punish perjury. For the Greeks these were the *Erinyes*, the embodiment of the curse upon oneself, which accompanies the swearing of an oath. The German formula tends to mention the positive matter, as does the English: “so wahr mir Gott helfe”, ‘so help me God’. But that means, of course, that if the oath is not kept, then God will not help me, in other words the curse of the self remains implicit.

13

Yet this is not enough either. The super-empiric and invisible, all those witnesses so far above mere mortals, whether gods, demons or avenging powers, do, after all, have to be anchored in reality. Greater than words and imagination, the action, the carrying out of a ritual in connection with everything that one feels and says, is what gives the assurances, appeals and curses their direct and realistic seriousness. The formulaic oaths may include phantasmagora, but the sense of reality is not lost at all.

14

Ritual places one's own body in a linguistically formed environment. According to Herodotus, the Arabs cut their hands and smear the blood on holy stones. Irreversibility is demonstrated above all by killing in sacrifice. Thus, in Alalah in Syria a sheep is slaughtered when there is a transfer of property, accompanied by the formula "Thus shall I die if I take back what I have given to you." Sheep are also slaughtered in the ceremony of swearing in the *Iliad*; while Agamemnon cuts their throats, the participants pour wine out of their cups onto the earth and pray: "Whosoever first commits a sacrilege against this oath, his brain shall flow to the ground like this wine, the same to them and their children, and their women shall be forced by other men." Blood flowing to the ground, wine flowing, brains flowing – all are connected. In an Assyrian contract of the 8th century BC it is written: "If Mati'ilu contravenes this contract, then just as the head of this lamb is torn off it and its knucklebones are laid in its mouth, ... thus too (shall) the head of Mati'ilu be torn off." When carrying out the Soldiers' Oath, the Hittites pour out wine, much as do the opponents in Homer, and say: "This is not wine, this is your blood." The *Fetiales*, who carried out the ritual of alliance for the Romans, said: "If (the Roman people) contravene this treaty through bad intention and falsehood, then thou, O Jupiter, there and then do strike the Roman people as I do strike this pig today, and you shall strike all the the more, the more you are able to do so"; and at this point the *Fetialis* then killed the animal with a stone. "When the Molossians swear an oath, they provide cattle and jugs filled with wine; then they cut the cow into small pieces and utter the curse, that the one breaking the oath shall be thus chopped up; they pour out the jugs and say, thus shall the blood of the one breaking the oath be spilled."

Here we have, then, a type of symbolism that is quite easy to understand; but the symbols are made as realistic as possible: wine and blood, jerking animals that are dying. Direct touch is often very important. One must take the innards of the sacrificial animal in one's hand – in Mesopotamia as in Greece; one must dip one's own weapons in the blood, or at least a ring which one then holds in one's hand during the ceremony of swearing – thus the early Germanic tribes. A speciality of Greek oaths consisted of cutting off the

genitalia of the sacrificial animal and placing them upon the ground, so that the one swearing the oath would step on them with his foot. This occurred together with the curse that perjury would entail the end of fertility and thus of the whole family. Biological survival was at stake. At the Areopagos in Athens, the law court responsible for cases of intended killing of human beings – Orestes was the famous mythical example – the priests slaughtered a boar, a ram and a steer and the accused then stepped on the cut-off genitals and recited the oath that threatened his house and all of his descendants with destruction.

16

Another way of making clear the threat of destruction was to burn effigies of wax or tar with the corresponding curses. As the wax melts, so the malefactor shall dissolve into nothing. This is known both in the Middle East and in Archaic Greece. A less spectacular ritual act was throwing something away. Achilles swears that he will no longer take part in the battle, “by the wooden staff which he carries in his hand; this shall never turn green and grow leaves again – and with that he throws it to the ground. In the Roman oath *per Iovem lapidem*, ‘by Jupiter the stone’ which gives one the impression of a very old tradition, the one swearing the oath grips a stone and says the common formula: “If I keep the oath, good shall happen to me; if I plan anything different or do anything different, all others shall be safe ... But I alone shall fall, as this stone now falls” – and with this he throws the stone to the ground. *Per Iovem lapidem* – that sounds as if the divinity were identified with the stone and vice versa.

17

Utter irreversibility is demonstrated by having iron bars sunk in the sea. Thus the Ionians and Athenians sealed their alliance against the Persians in 478 BC; earlier, the Phocaeans had used the same ritual symbol when they gave up their city in the face of the advancing Persians and emigrated to Marseilles. This kind of action can metamorphose into pure magic: Jeremiah writes down all the evils that are to strike Babylon on a piece of parchment and gives his servant Seraiah the task of bringing this to Babylon, reading it out, tying the parchment to a stone and throwing it into the Euphrates. “Thus shall Babylon sink and shall not rise.”

18

Oaths are simultaneously a primitive and a sophisticated thing. The rituals of swearing have been called 'pre-deistic' and one has spoken of primitive mentalities – a stone seems to be identified with the sky god Jupiter, for instance. Yet oaths are at the same time always strategies applied by clever people who know how to use language, although every attempt at securing and strengthening is followed, as soon as not, by attempts to circumvent and deceive. Homer already says that Autolykos, Odysseus' grandfather, was famed far and wide "for the art of thievery and swearing" (*Od.* XIX, 395 sq.). There are some pretty tales of how well he used these talents. Autolykos was not alone. "To cheat by oath" is, for Herodotus, the very core of the market economy (I, 153). Yet one must assume that the rightful use of oaths statistically outweighed the criminal.

19

There were religious reformers who tried to limit or forbid the use of oaths. Jesus forbade swearing oaths most decisively; this is quite clear in the Sermon on the Mount: "But let your communication be, Yea Yea; Nay Nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil" (Matthew 5, 34-37). There is hardly any other of Jesus' commandments, which has been so flagrantly ignored by the official Church. The oath was quite simply a necessity. As a rule the Bible was taken for swearing upon.

20

The use of written documents could have rendered oaths superfluous as such. The ancient Mesopotamians already knew the 'oath of the tablet', yet held on to the 'God of the Oath'. The ceremonies of swearing of the ancient Romans were spoken according to 'wax tablets' for exactness, and yet they sometimes took a stone to kill the sacrificial animal, rather than a knife. Written culture keeps to the tools of the Stone Age. Even today an oath can be admitted as evidence in front of a court – the remnant of the ritual consisting to some extent of swearing upon, i.e. touching, the Bible. Perjury is a legally defined crime.

21

In addition there is the swearing-in of soldiers and officials. This also has the function of an initiation ritual. I have read that in Israel the swearing-in of the recruits, for a time, took place before the cliff fortress of Masada in torchlight: an impressive case of 'scenic

Supplémentation' as a means of influencing the young generation. In this place one experiences the historical memory of the heroic deed of despair carried out by the defenders of Masada in AD 72, framed by the landscape, the night, the torches, all of which have always been elements of mystery rituals. The will to life, the will to defend are to grow out of the horror. This has been given up, apparently, in that Masada has been left to the tourists, that is, one can give the paying guest a shivery experience, while instead of ritually formed fighters, for new wars one now needs the highly technical attack troops who can launch *smart missiles* within minutes, and CNN will provide suitable images.

22

The ritual practice associated with swearing oaths can be seen as a perfectly rational attempt to perform an act of cultural and moral imprinting in order to Supplément language, to create a common world of true meanings and to secure it by evoking the animal fear of death, especially in the ceremonies of killing. The unbearable lightness of language is unacceptable, it must be abolished. The oaths particularly emphasise and further the belief in invisible higher beings, in that they simultaneously create practical symbols of extreme reality. All these are inventions, certainly, whose purpose is obvious and not quite arbitrary; they have been created in such a way that they 'fit into the landscape'. A. Zahavi's book, *The Handicap Principle. A missing piece of Darwin's puzzle* (1997), allows us to recognise another biological parameter. The apparently paradoxical cases of the manifest risk of self-damage in the animal world are described, from the jumps of the gazelle to the peacock's display of feathers, and are interpreted as signs of strength. Only the extravagant and indelible symbol can impress, because it is not easy to fake; it has to be distinguishable from a mere bluff. What is the use of communication without reliability? Here, at least, an analogy exists to the oath rituals in which one spills one's own blood. We, for our part, live in a world in which we can hardly differentiate between the actual and the virtual, as has often been noted. There are no facts, only interpretations, we can read; and as scholars of the humanities, we may indeed sympathize with such an attitude. We are looking for documents instead of oaths, or finally for the forgery-proof electronic signature. Do we need suicidal attacks to bring us home unalterable,

hard reality?

23

Let us glance at a different area, where the ancient roots of ritual behaviour are far more visible, indeed, in my opinion undeniable: rituals of hierarchy and subordination, of the formation of hierarchies, including all forms of respect and honour, but also, naturally, all forms of impressing, threatening, making contemptible; aggressive tension and the calming release of tension.

24

There can be no doubt that this goes far back in human prehistory. A highly developed sense of authority and complex ranking has been discerned in all primate societies. The intellectual capabilities of apes and monkeys, in particular of the anthropoid apes, have exceeded the expectations of observers and are documented in numerous observations and experiments. A good many of these abilities serve, however, only to carry out those social games which have to do with ranking within the group, and which go on incessantly. Are we really different in this respect? Ranking means a labile stability, it renders fighting within the group superfluous; scolding, expressing unfriendly sounds towards someone can, on the other hand, certainly indicate a 'pecking order', as it is among animals. Frans de Waal has written a book on the '*Politics of Chimpanzees*', on the basis of many years' observations made in zoos. There are many surprising items. Not only do chimpanzees know each other personally, and are quite aware of who exactly is higher or lower in rank, but they can also apply long-term strategies, forming 'alliances' through favours, in order to gain advantages and to rise in rank; the fall of the alpha animal is already in the works when one animal does not show the usual reverence in looking and posture when passing by.

25

It might also be worth considering that we humans spontaneously, and apparently quite generally, think of 'rank' as a vertical dimension, 'higher' or 'lower', instead of in a horizontal sequence or in circles about a median, both of which are equally logical. Even though the most successful primates these days move along asphalted streets, they still play their games of higher and lower rank, 'at the bottom' or 'at the top', not without an eye on 'higher' ideals.

26

These fantasies are quite concretely anchored in corporeality. Investigations have been made into the 'attention structure' within a group of primates and it has been established that the attention of the lower ranking is always directed toward those who are higher in the scale of things than they themselves. Thus, the higher ranking are kept in view out of the corner of one eye; "those in the darkness cannot be seen." Heartbeat and pulse rates change when the boss enters the office. Personal cleverness generally means, of course, that the reactions are hidden rather than open; but we cannot escape the system. We are prisoners in a net of collective ritual interactions.

27

There is a whole series of behavioural characteristics and symbols, which express and confirm rank. The simplest means of having one's way by putting on a show or display is to appear 'big'. This is the reason for hair 'standing on end': nature has provided this means, even though it is one's own anxiety or fear that is at the bottom of it. Konrad Lorenz has shown how, even though we have no mane to stand on end, the 'shiver' of awe and the 'shiver' of fear have a remarkable connection – the musculature responsible runs along the backbone. In order to impress through size, people have invented crests on helmets, top hats, and military epaulets instead of manes; these all increase the size of the silhouette. Of course, a display can also trigger aggression. In order to stop aggression there are contrary behaviours, where it is important to appear small and low-ranking – the Latin word *humilis*, which is the source of English *humility*, actually means 'belonging to the ground'. I have been told that those serving in East Asian mealtime ceremonies, generally women, may not carry their heads higher than those assembled for dining; as these practically sit on the ground, those serving must be *humiles* to an extreme degree, nearly crawling in order to move.

28

Every meeting entails the unavoidable question of ranking. There are two opposing and firmly programmed behavioural patterns, aggressive desire to impress, and mutual subordination; both have developed special forms in customs of class and gender. As civilised, democratic citizens we long since opted for the non-aggressive tactic of subordination; take off your hat, bow, indeed kiss the lady's hand; this kissing of the hand as a sign of subordination still survives in

some parts of Europe, especially in the area of the former Austrian Empire; but the Catholic Church, too, still practises this greeting. It unites bowing with direct bodily contact. The latter is in theory; it is avoided in actuality by kissing one's own fingers, or simply using the German formula 'Küß(3 die Hand'. In the symbolic behavioural world there is a whole series of substitutions; the greeting (common in South Germany and Austria) of 'Servus', the Latin word for 'servant', has long since become the opposite of what it originally was – now it is a sign of rather casual familiarity.

29

Earlier rulers took these things more seriously. Assyrian reliefs show how emissaries subordinate themselves to the King by not only kneeling on the ground, but touching their heads to it as well. In Akkadian this was called "wiping the nose"; one wonders whether there was bit of verbal irony with regard to the ceremony in this expression. But those in authority saw the matter more seriously. As successor to the Assyrian and Babylonian kings, the Persian Great King also insisted on emissaries throwing themselves to the ground in this manner and touching it with their foreheads. The later sultans expected the same. The Greeks called this '*proskynesis*'. For them this was a dishonourable thing for a man to do. One emissary dropped his ring in order to have an excuse for the *proskynesis*. But it was Alexander, a Greek, called the Great, who required just this sign of honour, as had his predecessors, the Persian kings. As a consequence there was some unpleasant uproar at his court. The Greeks misunderstood the ritual as a way of honouring divinities, although they themselves did not generally fall to the ground in front of their own gods. I discovered a better explanation in the film *Gorillas in the Mist*, in which Diane Fossey (or rather, the actress playing the part) explains how one can prevent an impending attack by an irritated silverback gorilla: kneel down, lay your head on the ground and at all costs do not look at the gorilla. Perhaps this is some comfort to the one forced to do the *proskynesis*: no god, a gorilla. The European monarchs later did not require more of their subjects than going down on one knee to show humility and to honour the monarch. My mother, in Munich in 1910, still had to learn to curtsy for the times when the popular Prince Regent drove through the streets in his coach. In Japan I noticed that the Japanese are constantly bowing.

They are living in the fourteenth regnal year of the current emperor, after all. The Swiss do not bow; they have had no monarchs for centuries.

30

An important detail, not only for gorillas, is where one directs one's gaze. Recognising a fixed stare as a danger signal is ancient and widespread 'knowl-edge' in the animal kingdom. The staring eye is an 'evil eye', triggering an innate alarm system and the corresponding behaviour. For German fraternity students of the more recent past, staring could be a reason to duel. To lower one's eyes is a sign of subordination, and can be interpreted of course as a reflection of a bad conscience and guilt; to look each other 'in the eye', on the other hand, is an expression of undiluted equality; it can be learnt.

31

Once the forms of subordination in war, in the midst of slaughter and conscious murder, were dramatic and strict. The vanquished, indeed their emissaries too, had to present themselves to the victors with torn clothing, half-naked, bowed down, with loosened hair, weeping; in this condition they threw themselves at the victors' feet. Ancient historians, in particular Caesar, are fond of describing such scenes. Weeping is 'childish' behaviour; animals, too, are in general programmed in such a way that they do not attack children. For this reason adults also regress to demonstrative weeping. This does not exclude further demonstrative actions as an expression of inferiority; rather, this includes them. In the victory parade at Moscow in 1945, the German prisoners of war were manipulated in such a way that they had diarrhoea, so that they could be driven through the streets as a stinking mass of misery.

32

Archaic patterns of behaviour occur most particularly in extreme situations. The Greeks described the special behaviour of the ones imploring protection (*hiketes*), by which means a warrior attempted to obtain pardon. One had to come closer to the opponent than the weapons' reach, and attempt to touch him, especially the hollow of the knee. I was astonished to find just this in a modern press photo from the Indo-Pakistani war of 1971. It shows kneeling prisoners carrying out exactly this gesture on impressively erect soldiers in the pose of victors. This is a downright uncanny correspondence to

ancient depictions, for instance the mythical scene of Dolon kneeling before Odysseus and Diomedes in the Trojan War. “Moments later they were shot”, said the caption to the picture in Time magazine. Dolon, too, dies. The ritual can go wrong; the acceptance of the message contained in the symbol can be refused. All the more astonishing how schematic types of behaviour appear in different civilisations and over three thousand years’ distance. They must have been practised for extremely long periods of time. Ritual action is rooted in very old programmes of behaviour and can regress to the primitive.

33

A brief mention should be made of the area in which subordination rituals have developed in a special manner, as it were running empty: in religion, where the basis is ‘reverence’. We are familiar today with how believers in Islam touch the earth with their foreheads. Correspondences exist also in the Roman Catholic Church, where the priest throws himself flat on the ground. It is no accident that the word *rituale* comes from the Roman church. It is usual in church to kneel to pray; only the Protestants have to some extent emancipated themselves from this. Sinking the head, lowering the eyes is still quite generally a part of pious posture. I do not wish to say anything more here about the ancient question of the origins of religion; I would only like to point out that, in its expression of subordination and reverence, the schema- tised behaviour called ritual connects the religious and non-religious spheres. It is the given, programmed ritual which gives that sphere of the higher, invisible, otherworldly a certain, quite determined structure – just that content of the all-powerful, almighty. The demonstrative element that accrues to ritual is also impossible to overlook in the area of piety; one does it for a divinity, but also to show others that one does it and how. Symeon on his column, around AD 420, bowed before God, touching his toes by doing so – 1244 times, we are told. Peter Brown comments: “The true horror of this story lies not in the exertions of the saint, but in the layman who stood there counting” (*Making of Late Antiquity* 14, Theodoretus PG 82, 1481A). Horrible, but typical that somebody stood there and counted.

34

The modern style of democratic equality tends to make most of these

ceremonial behaviours disappear, and one would hardly wish them back. There are probably no more families in which the wife and children drop to their knees in front of a dominant father, as still occurred in the family of my grandfather. State visits with a review of armed soldiers have an antiquated flavour about them. On the other hand, embracing and kissing, which is a very old, chimpanzee-type of behaviour, has become ubiquitous, indeed exaggeratedly so, a sign of peace and joy. Bodily expressions of this kind are not possible in electronic communication. In e-mails and SMS messages the rituals of greeting in the form of salutations and conclusions tend to disappear; there is no room for them. Programmed hierarchies, complicated access codes take their place. Yet one observes not only the Pope, but the most modern managers and diplomats searching for the 'face to face'. They have to travel, they have to meet for 'working dinners' – note the corporeal aspect. It is not enough after all to sit in front of a computer or to pull out one's mobile phone. One wants more than just the credit for one's hard-earned money in the computer. So new and quite corporeal rituals occur in accordance with tourism arranged in classes.

35

Let us cast a glance at yet a third area, which does not lend itself as much to parody, and where ritual still seems to us to be essential: dealing with death and the dead. Multicultural as we are, we know that here the uniformity of world society breaks down, that there are multifarious and very different customs. There still exist Parsees today, followers of Zarathustra, who leave corpses in the Towers of Silence for the vultures. For us, in general, there is only the choice between cremation and burial; cremation, quite usual elsewhere, was introduced into Europe in the 19th century as an anti-Christian form of rationality; now crematoriums are at our disposal everywhere. Some 19th-century rationalists, impressed by chemistry, wanted bodies to be dissolved in sulphuric acid. These, too, were basically variants of the reaction to the fundamentals of existing ritual tradition. At any rate, one does not like to imagine a fully automatic, computer-guided disposal system taking the place of ritual burial, even though we are rather unclear about just exactly where and when the dignity of man ceases to be of concern.

36

The ritual of death is, in any case, ancient and distinctively human. In the debate on whether chimpanzees could lay claim to human rights, an anthropologist has said that this could only be if they bury their dead. Chimpanzees, of course, do not do this. On the other hand, rituals of burial have been established as far back as the so-called Neanderthals, where ochre seems to have been used, probably in order to make the dead look more alive, and where flowers seem to have been laid in the grave. These are absolutely the oldest human rituals that we can establish; the finds are all the more astonishing because geneticists have now established that Neanderthal did not belong to our ancestral lineage, but was a different species that existed beside *Homo sapiens*. How it can happen that two species existing at the same time could practise identical or similar rituals, namely burial rituals, is a problem worth thinking about. Especially remarkable, and indeed moving, is this use of flowers. This seems to lead directly to our modern practice of placing flowers on a grave. But in our newspapers one often reads that donations to some humanitarian organisation are desired, instead of flowers. Rational usefulness is to triumph over the 'meaninglessness of ritual'. But flowers remain, the moving and pathetic gesture of breaking them, the display of beauty and impermanence against the ghastly presence and the irretrievable past. Did the Neanderthal feel this way, and act accordingly?

37

An immediately noticeable behaviour in the presence of death is weeping. I assume that this is universal among human beings. It is a quite characteristic physical behaviour. It is specifically human, a physiological process that we can only partially master. There are more culturally determined forms of training to suppress weeping. "Men don't cry", I said to an uncle at the death of my grandmother, around 65 years ago, upon seeing the various aunts crying. This physiologically autonomous and spontaneous reaction becomes a social thing at funerals, it is transferred from the individual to the collective, becoming in a way controllable in this fashion. "Do we weep from the entrance to the cemetery on, or not until we reach the grave?" This question, asked by a guest at a funeral who came from out of town, shows this desire to adapt in the ritual of bereavement. The controllability was quite extensive in antiquity, as we know from

the existence of hired 'wailing women'. For this apparently collective expression of feeling is also communicative at the same time, a symbol that is perceived and that is intended to be perceived. It is seen, too, as a testimonial of respect, as a way of honouring; there are societies where the duration and intensity of mourning on the part of neighbours, friends and intimates are registered most exactly. Naturally, at the next opportunity this must be precisely reciprocated.

38

Other forms of honouring the dead have become foreign to us: aggressive outbreaks, fighting games, sports, *agones*. The Roman gladiatorial fights were originally funeral games, although later the entertainment aspect took over. There were human sacrifices in connection with funeral rites in the Orient, but also among the Greeks. The Greek athletic competitions also originated in funeral games – as they are depicted, for example, in Homer's *Iliad*. Later, for instance the Olympic Games, they are still tied to sacrifice and altar. Karl Meuli has discussed these connections between death customs and *agones* particularly intensively. Of course, we shudder when Hitler's Olympic Games of 1936 made such connections again, where a 'Langemarck Hall' in memory of those who fell in 1914 was part of the Berlin Olympic Stadium. By the way, the carrying of the Olympic flame is a ritual that was invented at the time, and has continued to be practised since.

39

To remain with the topic of the dead: something that we regard as absolutely necessary for a funeral, too, is food. It is the only kind of festive meal to which one may come with no personal invitation, for by participating one testifies to one's own personal participation. Those who are truly sad will feel that the comfortable cheerfulness, which tends to spread under these circumstances is something of an irritation; but it is rather difficult to sit and fast or to exclude oneself. Again it is remarkable how the bodily things are used to overcome the spiritual difficulties. And the sense of the ceremony can be understood and formulated as: life goes on. What greater assurance of the will to live than eating?

40

The problem existing here was already reflected in Homer's poetry, in

the last song of the *Iliad*. Achilles is still caught up in the deepest depression, even after the extravagant funeral games for Patroklos; he sits in his tent and refuses to eat, with the mistreated and decomposing corpse of the arch-enemy Hector in the background; and beside him stands the table, full of food, great joints of meat – he touches nothing. Then old Priamos, Hector's father, comes, and he manages to persuade Achilles to release his son's corpse to be buried – and Achilles invites the guest to eat, the true expression of reconciliation. Achilles himself then tells a mythical story, the story of Niobe, whose children had all been killed by the gods; she sat among the corpses for nine days, but even this had an end with their burial, and Niobe then 'remembered food', she ate, and she continued to live. The story could be put in a different, harder way, as in the tragedy by Aischylos, *Niobe*: Niobe, in her speechless bereavement, turns to stone, and thus she sits to this day on Mount Sipylos, a stone on which moisture drips, a weeping stone. The usual ritual leads away from this petrification, and guarantees further life; this is why the funeral meal is so important.

41

We like to speak of the mystery of death, as though thinking about it could help us. In philosophical contemplation of existence one can see the knowledge of death as the fundamental knowledge for being human, for the human consciousness of the self; then one can indeed ask, when did it develop; it is there, in any case, in the oldest Sumerian and Egyptian literature. There are various religions with various messages intended to overcome death, or claiming to render it unimportant in some way. This is not a matter for these pages. But in every culture there are suggestions for rituals that help, traditions of ritual. Such a ritual does not require a special, personal 'belief, which is why one cannot conclude anything about belief from ritual, although historians of religion are fond of doing this. Ritual is used and needed as a tracery, formation, stylisation of that which is necessary, in order to overcome individual aimlessness and depression. One participates; one lets it happen. What is perceived to be an unburdening, or a pressure, as sensible or senseless, is doubtless an individual matter. Social action here possesses a supra-individual form. In dealing with death, ritual remains a necessity.

42

I have tried to throw light on ritual using old examples, which entails moving back and forth from ancient things to all kinds of modern ones, from evident functions to meaninglessness, from dying out to new starts. I believe I can maintain that far more questions remain than answers supported by theory. In other words: this remains an area of research.

Notes

1 Translation by Douglas Fear. Lecture delivered on the occasion of the opening of the Collaborative Research Center 619 *Dynamics of Ritual* on October 21, 2002 (cf *Forum Ritualdynamik* 2, 2003: <http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/archiv/4582>). I have maintained the original phrasing of the lecture with some modifications. For further details and documentation, see: W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, Berkeley 1979; *id.*, *Creation of the Sacred. Tracks of Biology in Early Religions*, Cambridge, Mass. 1996.

Moving Events Dance at Public Events in the Ancient Greek World Thinking through its Implications

Frederick G. Naerebout

Concepts and definitions

1

Dance is a specific kind of intentional, performative motor behaviour. Its performative nature implies an audience of some kind. As Oliver Taplin has defined performance in his simple, but adequate working definition (a ‘rough delineation’): “an occasion on which appropriate individuals enact events, in accordance with certain recognized conventions, in the sight and hearing of a larger social group, and in some sense for their benefit”.

1

I am concerned here with audiences outside the private sphere, that is to say, with public events in the particular sense that Don Handelman has accorded to those words: special occasions of a public character, “occasions that people undertake in concert to make more, less, or other of themselves, than they usually do” and that are dense concentrations of symbols.

2

2

All public events and their constituent parts are ritualized to some extent (not all ritualized behaviour, however, is part of a public event). ‘Ritualized’ is here to be understood as ‘done according to ritual’. Ritual I define, with the anthropologist Stanley Tambiah, as “patterns and rules of combination, sequencing, recursiveness and

redundancy, (...) performative blueprints”.

3

Ritual, a set of blueprints, has to be realized as ritualized behaviour at specific occasions, some of which are public events. In the ancient world such public events were always religious occasions (not all religious occasions, however, were public events

4

). Indeed, the more grandiose and better-known public events of ancient society are what are commonly called ‘religious festivals’, recurrent or non-recurrent, cyclical or non-cyclical. In fact, there is little point in insisting on the religious nature of public events, when speaking of a society where the observer cannot keep apart the religious and the non-religious other than in a purely theoretical sense. This state of affairs is nowadays often described as the embeddedness of religion in ancient society.

5

I would rather say that ancient society was embedded in religion. Religion is the foil against which human life is being played out. The ancient Greek world is an example of the polytheistic variant of what is called ‘fundamentalism’ by post-Enlightenment secularized societies.

3

Ritualized behaviour at public events (and ordinary behaviour as well, but that is less interesting, because less distinctive) consisted to some appreciable extent of nonverbal behaviour. The nonverbal is a capacious category, which reaches from paralanguage, i.e. the non-semantic aspects of vocal utterances, to the kinetic, i.e. body movements and gestures.

6

Some subsets of such nonverbal movements and gestures occurring together, were distinguished by speakers of Greek as examples of *orcheuma* or *choros*.

7

If we look at what to the Greeks made up the particular human activity, which they denoted as such, and we compare this to the present, it is clear that *orcheuma* and *choros* can without much ado be translated as ‘dance’ in English, or one of its equivalents in other European languages. So if I produce an etic definition of dance, as I think I should and as I will do below, and if this etic definition of

dance is closely related to modern natural language use, as it had better be, we can, in this instance, collapse the etic and the emic – something that is not nearly always the case.

8

The insiders' perspective (Greek semantics: emic) and the outsiders' perspective (a scholarly definition, a new construct, but related to English semantics: etic) are very close to one another. That is to say: I as a scholar formulating my own definition of the dance, using, in this instance, English, and a speaker of Greek from any period of the ancient world, would agree more or less on what dance is. Naturally, the same holds good for dance imagery, apart from the problems inherent in the imagery itself. In producing still images of movement, a number of conventions are brought into play, and such pictorial conventions are hardly ever easy to 'read', not always for insiders, certainly not for outsiders. Of course, all the above does not mean that dance fulfils the same functions in our society as it did in ancient society.

4

My etic definition of dance describes it as communal human behaviour, consisting of intentional, rhythmic, structured, mostly stereotyped bodily movement, coordinated by sound, which behaviour is recognized by those partaking in it or viewing it as a special category of behaviour.

9

'Dance' obviously can be used also in the loose sense of a combination of many different nonverbal and verbalized elements. Dance anthropology has introduced the concept of 'dance event', which is intended to bring out the need to contextualize dance movements.

10

There is patterned sound (rhythms being beaten, song, instrumental music), there might be a subtext. In anthropological literature we find 'MTD', which is short for 'music, text, dance', and which is thought to be the most common form of performance.

11

Indeed, the Greeks used the concept of *mousike* to express exactly that: in the Greek world dance and song (poetry set to music) commonly come together, whether the dancers do the singing themselves or not.

12

The 'dance event' embraces more than MTD: we can also look at costuming, venue, the identity of the performers, the composition of the audience, the occasion and so on. All this is true enough: contextualization is important. But bodily movement of a particular kind, i.e. the stricter definition of dance presented above, is of course the crucial thing: without that we would not speak of dance at all.

5

It might be noted in passing that in social and cultural research 'body', 'embodiment' and so on, have become concepts rivalling the time-honoured categories of 'culture' and 'society'. This has been described as one of the main elements of post-modern theorizing

13

. In fact, it even seems to go beyond that: postmodernism is on the wane, but the rather overwhelming interest in the body is still there.

14

It is likely to turn out to be more than a fad or fashion: the importance of the (moving) body to human culture has been recognized; in several societies, the ancient Greek one amongst them, the moving body, especially that moving in the dance, can be shown to have been, or still to be, of paramount importance.

6

Dance as defined above is prevalent at Greek public events, together of course with other performative elements.

15

Mere prevalence does not necessarily indicate importance, but then it might do so very well. When we see the amount of documentation of and reflection on the phenomenon by the Greeks themselves, in the shape of texts and images trying to capture the evanescent dance and give it permanency, and reaching to the meta-level, we can conclude without too much circumlocution that this is indeed a cultural phenomenon of central importance. That means that anyone studying ancient Greece, and especially its public events, has to come to grips with the dance. When the chorus in Sophocles' *Oedipus tyrannus* states: τί δεῖ με χορεύειν; "what use is it for me to go on dancing?", this has been interpreted as meaning "why should I partake in some religious festival any longer?" *Choreuein* can mean exactly that.

16

So anything that makes us moderns aware of the saltatory

component of ancient public events is useful. It would be very unwise to overlook the dance. Nevertheless, dance, and all of *mousikē*, has been overlooked and neglected again and again, except for the specialist accounts (which, however necessary they may be, only really bear fruit when their results are integrated into the more general picture).

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Indeed, it is remarkable how often authors manage to speak about ‘celebrate’ or ‘worship’ without any indication of how exactly that was being done. The uninitiated reader certainly may be excused for thinking that dancing played no big part in ancient Greek religion, or that we do not know anything about it either way.

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The cause for this oversight or neglect probably is some combination of long-term Christian rejection of the dance, an increasingly text-based view of history, and a loss of what has been called kinaesthetic awareness.

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The idea that the performing arts in general, and dance in particular, are something frivolous, not fit for scholarly attention, has certainly played, and still plays its part. Happily, such preconceptions seem to be weakening, but the weight of a long tradition of religious argument directed against the more bodily and sexual aspects of the human arts are behind it. I am sorry to say that dance history as a scholarly pursuit has not done much to counter this. A lot of it is either antiquarian, parochial and unsophisticated, or filled to the brim with fashionable jargon but ultimately vacuous, and thus only serves to scare other historians away from the subject – if they ever approach it at all.

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The time has come to put all that behind us and make a fresh start: and there certainly are “encouraging signs that things are changing in the study of Greek dance”, to quote a recent assessment.

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They should go on changing, for we only can hope to have a grasp of ancient Greek life when we are aware of the prevalence of dancing and carefully think through all its consequences. When one agrees, as I do, that the historian should strive to become competent in the culture under investigation, as in the Malinowskian ideal of

anthropological field-work, one had better heed Plato's words:
οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν ἀπαίδευτος ἀχόρευτος ἡμῖν ἔσται,

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Sources and restrictions

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But when we *do* realize the importance of the dance in ancient Greek society, and *do* pay requisite attention, then the going gets rough. Dance may be important, but it also turns out to be quite difficult to find out anything about it except for the bare fact of its importance. Now, why should this be so difficult? The fairly large amount of source material that we have at our service has already been alluded to. However, the nature of the evidence puts severe limitations on what we can do, as usual.

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Let us step back for a moment from the actual sources and consider the study of dance in general. The very idea of researching dance does not seem very promising: dance is an ephemeral art, of which in the days before several kinds of modern recording techniques came into being, precious little remained the moment the dance was finished: a memory in the mind, maybe a dance floor or other venue, and some paraphernalia. Of course, a dance remembered can be reperformed, or one can draw on one's memories to teach others to reperform, things to which we will return below. The memory of an actual performance dies with the person who partook in or witnessed that particular performance, and usually well before that time. However, memories can be externalized into a more permanent shape, either verbalized or turned into imagery.

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As for the ancient Greek world, the memories are long gone, and the direct reflection of performances is limited to a few musical instruments and masks (usually in votive copies), the only possible accoutrements of the dance surviving.

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Dance venues are only recognizable as such if these are dedicated dance floors. Except for *orchēstrai* in theatres, nobody has attempted to collect these systematically.

Such sources are not disregarded, but they are few and far between. It is the more indirect evidence, the texts and images, that forms the bulk of our sources. As far as the actual performances are concerned, these texts and images remain inexact and impressionistic: apparently, the ancient Greek world felt no urge to provide posterity with a precise record of its dances in either words or pictures.

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There have been attempts to find woven into poetic sources something like an abstract of a dance manual, in the form of descriptions of dance movements supposedly extraordinarily precise: Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* has been singled out as such.

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Nonnus is likely to have been something of a dance *aficionado*, and his descriptions of dance, of which he, true to the fashions of his age, emphasizes the pantomimic, communicative mode, are certainly colourful and very *wordy*, but do not appear to be *precise*.

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Equally misguided, in my opinion, are all efforts to discover in imagery the analytic approach lacking in writing, by supposing Greek vase painters to have been careful observers of the dance, whose imagery, or part of it, consists of so-called decompositions of sequences of dance movements. That implies that their images of dancers can be reassembled into series of human figures that enable us to reconstruct movement sequences. We could even put these images on a filmstrip and run it through a projector, giving us an animated picture of ancient Greek dancing -from an ancient source. That is plain silly and nothing but wishful thinking.

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As far as we are aware, Greece knew of no dance notation, and did not produce any technical literature on dance movements at all – at least, no examples of or references to such things have been found.

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Of course, a dance notation might have disappeared without leaving a trace, but then we should compare the case of Greek music. Although Greek musical notation was almost completely lost (Isidore of Seville observed that music cannot be notated

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), examples have been subsequently recovered from papyri, inscriptions and medieval manuscripts. It is mentioned or discussed by theoreticians of music, and its existence can be inferred from indirect evidence as well.

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Considering this, it would be odd if no fragment, however small, of or any single reference to a notation or technical treatise dealing with dance movements or choreographies should have survived. *P.Oxy.* III, 466 is a second-century papyrus giving directions for performing certain bodily movements, interpreted by the editors as directions for wrestling.

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That reading is undoubtedly correct: although the text does not contain technical terms that belong unequivocally in the realm of wrestling, the frequent use of *plekein* points to combat sport and not to dance.

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This is the kind of text that with another vocabulary could function as a manual for dance instruction, but we have no trace of such a thing. Lucian's *Peri Orchēseōs*, which in places reads like a pastiche of some manual for the dancer, is in fact of an entirely different nature, and concentrates on the *subject matter*, never discussing, except for some general remarks, the *execution*. Other monographic titles known to us are Aristocles' *Peri chorōn*, Sophocles' *Peri tou chorou*, and Aristoxenus' *Peri tragikos orchēseōs*, all lost except for a few fragments of Aristoxenus (fr. 44-49, cf. Athenaeus, XIV, 630c). None of these is likely to have contained any analysis of dance movements.

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As things stand, it seems unlikely that there ever existed in Antiquity extensive handbooks describing dance movements, gestures, positions or complete choreographies with floor-patterns and everything. The sources name many *schemata*, positions of the body or short movement sequences, or dances apparently named after the *schema* that gave it its distinctive character. Sometimes we can hazard a guess as to what it might have looked like, vaguely. But for the idea that a dance movement existed in which the dancer jumped up and crossed his legs in the air (a *schema* known as *therma(u)stris*, Pollux, IV, 102, Athenaeus, XIV, 630a, Hesychius s.v.) I do not even need a source: several dance traditions of past and present know of

such a movement. Human anatomy allows only a fairly limited movement vocabulary (disregarding the – usually unknown – minutiae of the actual execution), and much of this vocabulary will have been in use in ancient Greece in one form or another.

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The mere knowledge that Greeks bend their knees, clasped their hands or shook their hips is tremendously unexciting, and a far cry from the realities of ancient dancing.

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So our sources provide us with no technical information. That means that we are not able to reconstruct in any way, however tentatively, a particular dance or some part thereof. A reconstruction that is not merely imaginative, but also convincing and reproducible, is simply impossible to attain.

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And what if we could reconstruct (part of) a dance? What would be the use other than seemingly satisfying our strong urge to see (hear, smell, feel) what it ‘really was like’, which of course is in many senses an impossibility whatever evidence we have. We would study it until it was dead, and we still would go on flogging it. In fact, we ought to have pronounced it dead from the very start. We would not have the music, no idea of tempo and of the duration and quality of the movement. We would probably lack most background information on occasion, performers and audience. It would be the reconstruction of a single performance (we would have to work from a single source and avoid combining different bits and pieces into a reconstruction, for reasons that will become clear below), while in fact in order to understand what we had obtained, we would need a range of examples, distributed over time and space, with which to compare it. To remedy these defects is completely inconceivable: ancient Greek dance is lost, like almost all of ancient Greek music – certainly the sound of it. Time has reduced *mousikē* to mere text.

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Should we mourn these losses? Maybe yes, but for all the wrong reasons. It is more than doubtful whether a movement sequence from the ancient world would tell us anything beyond the obvious: this is difficult, easy, fast, slow, dynamic, static, energetic, relaxed, acrobatic, elegant... The meaning of it all could not be deduced from

its shape. Just think: it is no easy task to grasp the nature of Baroque dancing (which does not mean that one could or should not enjoy either watching, or partaking in, modern attempts at performing it). We have some notation, we have the music, we have imagery, we have cartloads of supporting evidence, but still the interpretation is very hard (the same holds good for the music itself). Acquiring the requisite mindset is even harder, and takes a lifetime of research. One is hard put to do a bit of the impossible: turning oneself into an eighteenth-century dance *aficionado*, or whatever role one prefers. For the ancient world this is too much to ask. If we had a complete ancient Greek dance, performed before our very eyes, we might be enchanted, but not a bit wiser.

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Still, there is one respect in which preserved or reliably reconstructed movement could have helped research along, and that is in providing some support in working with the non-technical sources for the ancient Greek dance. The fact that we do not have a single sequence of dance movement has serious consequences for the way we judge our texts and images. Memories of dances seen or performed might form the basis for description or for image-making (in a certain sense they always will: someone ‘inventing’ a dance will also draw on past experiences), but we have no way to look in on the process. We have no examples of actual dances, so we cannot say to what extent descriptions and images are documenting existing dances, and if they do, whether they do so in a reliable way. Sometimes there is reason to think they do, sometimes it would be plain silly to suppose otherwise. But very often we have no clue. Memories of several different performances may become confused, and worse, these may have been performances of different dances. And there may be partial invention to fill in gaps in the memory, or to embellish a reality considered not exciting enough.

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Let us turn to the images first: is it at all likely that the images are true to life, that is to observable reality, to the actual practice of the dance? Put in this way the question is somewhat unsophisticated: of course no image ever coincides with what it portrays. Indeed, ‘real’ versus ‘unreal’ is no workable dichotomy: a spectrum ranging from a very strong to a very weak linkage to practice is what one would

expect. Those instances where a conscious effort is undertaken to maximize the linkage to practice, I call 'documentary.' This has not, or not immediately, to do with the issue of illusionism or verisimilitude (what is often called 'realism'). A documentary image is put together according to certain conventions – and there are always conventions at work – which, however, may hardly add up to any illusionism (in the eyes of an observer used to all kinds of newer conventions intended to increase illusionism – such as central perspective). But that many Greek artists at least attempted an accurate or seemingly accurate representation of the human body, dress and other artefacts is undeniable. This fits in with general opinion on the tendencies in Greek art, which is supposed to have oscillated between more and less illusionistic phases.

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But obviously an illusionistic portrayal might be true to life in its constituent parts, or in some general sense, without the image as a whole referring to some external reality. Illusionistic, but *not* documentary. We might be looking at dancers who never were, or dancers who once were, but not at the time when the images, or some of the images, were produced.

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Hardly anybody seems ever to have drawn either conclusion; while there is no proof at all that these are documentary images.

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I give the example of the so-called mantle dancers, a popular motif in terracotta statuettes, which I have studied in some detail.

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It seems *a priori* unlikely that there was little or no difference between the dance at the place where this motif was originally conceived (possibly Athens) and when it was adopted, between, say, the early 4th and the late 2nd century BC. So we have mantle dancers, but definitely no single mantle dance (which figures frequently in literature, but is unattested in any ancient source). It seems a reasonable hypothesis that women muffled in *chiton* and *himation*, and often veiled – the way a decent woman was dressed

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– will have been regular dancers, in whatever dance, wherever these terracottas were produced or imported on an appreciable scale, although we have to admit that the popularity of the motif itself

cannot be used to prove this (at most one can say that it is likely to indicate an interest in the dance in general). It is only a hypothesis as long as no new evidence is forthcoming.

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What kind of dancers could these muffled women, if the statuettes indeed refer to (rather than portray) actual dancers, have been? When we compare several series of dance imagery in terracotta, these mantle dancers appear to be the only ones amongst these series to show ordinary human dancers clothed in ordinary dress worn in an ordinary way and not disambiguated by any paraphernalia. Thus we can conclude that they do not belong in the theatre, nor in the sphere of Dionysiac myth or on some other supernatural plane, nor amongst the retinue of Hellenistic rulers or amongst other professional entertainers. That they are in a different sphere of their own seems to me to be underlined by the fact that they are sometimes mimicked or caricatured by representatives of the other categories, such as Eros, dwarfs, and actors/satyrs.

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So if they are not all those other things, what niche is left for the mantle dancers? I suggest the non-theatrical choruses, which had always been and remained for a long time to come an essential ingredient of the public events which structured civic life. These are ordinary women performing at one of the many events of a public nature, such as a festival at a sanctuary. The majority of their performances are not specifically documented in our written sources, hiding amongst the many faceless mentions of 'choruses'.

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The images of these mantle dancers, occurring over much of the Greek world, signify nothing in particular, just as a dancing satyr is not some particular satyr. The very existence of some imagery that is specific to some locale points to the ubiquitous imagery being generic. Also the fact that the image of the mantle dancer shows a strong continuity over time does not reflect an unchanging tradition – as an unchanging tradition is not likely to exist (we will return to this below) –, but results from the fact that the imagery has become increasingly topical and has turned into a kind of cipher that proclaims: 'dance of type X', triggering the appropriate associations. The mantle dancers do not perform a particular choreography, and

are not meant to portray a particular group of dancers participating in a particular event. They stand for dance as a part of public events, they call to mind whatever chorus, they evoke the connotation 'dance by female community members in a public context.' The example of divine dancers may have been important in the creation of such generic images. The performers and audience must have had in mind the supernatural archetypes, they cannot *not* have thought of dancing gods and gods' entourages, such as the Dionysiac *thiasos*, considering the amount of imagery presenting such non-human dancers.

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But that imagery is generic by necessity: a divine performance is outside human time, because it is unchanging (one would not expect gods to have trouble remembering a choreography). Human performances, by contrast, are changing all the time, but we can gloss that over by producing generic imagery.

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A relatively small number of images are non-generic. These are closely linked to a particular findspot (one can think of the *krateriskoi* of Artemis Brauronia, the black-figure vases from the Thebes Kabirion, the terracottas of dancing boys from Kharayeb or of dancing girls from Priene), or disambiguated by a dipinto or inscription (the Pyrrhias aryballos from Corinth, the Karneia krater from Taranto, the pyrrhichists on two Athenian reliefs).

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Such images can, I think, be considered to be of a documentary nature: they intend to show a particular kind of dancing as it was performed at a certain place for a certain period of time, maybe even, but rarely so, a particular performance.

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In the same way, texts can refer to actual performances or a particular series of such performances. This we expect of most epigraphic sources and of documentary papyri, but of course literary texts, in the widest sense, can do the same. Paradoxically, with only a few exceptions, texts referring to a *specific* performance or to specific performances, speak of dances and of choruses in *unspecific* terms. The sources giving the names of, and sometimes some detail about dances and *schēmata* are mostly the work of learned authors who have been mining texts, usually lost to us, from many different places

and periods, and thus there is no link to actual performance. For instance: the copious but rather unspecific – except for the hotly debated *geranos* – information on the dance in Delian inscriptions deals with specific performances, the many names and *schēmata* mentioned in Athenaeus, Lucian or Pollux deal with abstractions.

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Ancient meta-level analysis of the phenomenon ‘dance’ itself is very helpful in reconstructing value systems connected to the dance, but rarely illustrates this with real-life examples. It is these texts without a link to actual performance that past antiquarian efforts have concentrated upon, while unspecific information on specific events has been much neglected.

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In conclusion we can say that the way in which texts and images relate to actual dances will remain the realm of more or less informed guesses, but with our present evidence will never be open to proof. Still, by some careful manoeuvring we can formulate some (partial) answers to the questions of who, when and where, even if the what and especially the how remain out of reach. Where, when and by whom can be set out on a set of ‘maps’ of the dance tradition of the ancient Greek world. That mapping of Greek dance, most of it dance performed at public events, is still waiting to be done.

Transmission, dissemination and change

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Next we should consider what the implications are for the ancient Greek dance *tradition*, if dances were not recorded there in any detail, as has been shown to be likely. A dance tradition can of course manage without a technical literature on the dance: there are numerous examples of dance traditions without such a literature. In fact, most first existence dances seem to be transmitted by way of example and word of mouth. What ethnologists have called ‘first existence dance’ is dance that still is an integral part of community life, learned by participation, a living heritage, while ‘second existence dance’ is a *revived* dance that is the property of a few

individuals, taught by teachers, with codified figures and movements.

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In post-antique Europe we do not find works dealing with the technicalities of the dance until the 15th century, and even then we have to wait another few centuries for an attempt to notate dances. And this concerns only part of the dance tradition: the court, the theatre (in its courtly variant) and in due course high society. Some cultures with highly developed dance traditions, as for example the islands of the Pacific, did not possess any codification of their dances until western anthropologists provided such for their own purposes. Even the very formalized Javanese theatre dance seems to have been transmitted without the benefit of written sources, until there was a shift towards second existence some time in the course of the 19th century when western interests interfered.

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In India, on the other hand, technical manuals are found very early: the oldest of these, dealing with dance, music and drama, the *Natyashastra* of Bharata, is dated variously from the 2nd century BC to the 3rd century AD. But we cannot be sure about its import. When a technical literature or even a notation arises, it does not follow that dance tradition is henceforth taught by the book. Even in our very literate society choreographies largely were, and still are, despite some inroads made by dance notation, handed on by example (with video nowadays added to direct contact). Transmission apparently functions quite well without 'writing up' the dance.

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It seems an inescapable conclusion that in the ancient Greek world, when a performance at a public events was preserved in writing, only texts

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were written down (if they were not already available in written form), while the music and dance, not to speak of other nonverbal components, were handed on, if they were handed on at all, by oral/aural tradition and by example. Of course, from the 4th century music might be notated, but in Greece this remained a fairly rudimentary tool, which would assist in, but not replace, the memorisation of musical performance. Also, there is the rare image documenting a specific performance, but we will leave those aside now – if images ever have assisted in reperformance, these must have been images in

media that have not survived. The above implies that actual performances, including rehearsals or informal ‘try-outs’, constituted the only contexts for transmission. Reperformance is possible on the basis of memories only, and as soon as the continuity, the chain of memory, is broken, the dance and music are lost. With this question of transmission, there also enter issues of dissemination, and of preservation and change. How are the components of a public festival taught to the next generation, and how are some components transferred from one place to another? What happens to them in the process? These are questions not limited to the dance, but dance enables us to gain a fresh insight into the matter and to suggest some tentative answers.

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We will look at dissemination first. Most previous work has dealt with the poetic side of *mousikē*. We will concentrate on choral poetry. If poetry was in fact performed by a chorus singing and dancing, what about renewed performance? As in the question of whether poetry was performed in a choral setting at all

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, self-reference is also a crucial element in questions surrounding the intended audience and reperformance.

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Can self-reference by the *Uraufführer* be transposed to another choir? If it can, how long is it before this ceases to be realistic? Did that matter? Some have concluded that there was no reperformance at all, or that reperformances took the form of solo recitation (with music (the original music?), but probably without dance – although usually this is left undiscussed). For those denying reperformance there is no problem of transmission and dissemination, only of textual preservation; for those allowing partial, solo reperformance only, the problem is reduced to very manageable proportions. Others, however, find, both in the choral poetry itself and elsewhere, enough indications of (intended) reperformance to conclude that choral poetry was put on again and again: that is, performed by a chorus with music and dance.

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Reperformance, also choral reperformance, whether this was the poet’s intention or not, seems by far the easiest solution to fit the

available evidence. If reperformances were part of (semi-)public events, these are likely to have been “song-and-dance performances”.

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I can think of no reason why reperformances should have been limited to informal, private occasions: indeed, the poets’ expectation that their words will survive, in different places, “sweet song going forth from Aegina on every boat” as Pindar put it, within the context of *mousikē* and its position within society, simply could not mean anything else but the expectation that some sizeable audiences would hear and see their work in actual performance.

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This may have been realized with the help of written texts, or not: there will have been instances where memory had to suffice – and did suffice until the chain was broken and no text remained for us to speculate about.

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But a written text was not intended to be read or at most to be recited to a number of friends. In a society where *mousikē*, especially *mousikē* at public events, looms large, one expects full-scale reperformance at such events, which had, after all, been the original context for the performance of some piece of choral poetry. Public events have to be programmed and ‘classics’ offer themselves as one of the items likely to be popular with an audience.

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Dissemination of choral poetry is likely to have been by way of choral reperformance. The original performance, or more than one such performance, may have been memorized by an appreciative audience, who took the performance home with them.

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An oral culture is used to memorizing. One need not doubt that an audience, or certain members of it, can memorize whatever they like and perform it anew – more or less.

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It is even more likely that the performers (and of course the poet and assistants), who by necessity had memorized the performance, would carry it with them wherever they went. Words will often have been written down, but can be memorized too; a tune with its particular characteristics and its instrumentation, if any (important as every instrument has its own technical limitations), is easily put to

memory. We need not give examples of that. But what about the choreography? On the basis of comparative material, one might doubt whether an audience can memorize dance as easily as words or music. Interestingly, there are what one might call stage directions in the very text to be performed.

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These might be *aides-mémoire*, but do not add up to anything like a complete script or scenario for reperformance. With the performers themselves it is different: motor behaviour that has been frequently rehearsed and performed can become as much ingrained in the memory as words or music, or even more so (here also enters the question of whether the chorus members sing and dance at the same time: who memorizes what? I think it likely that there usually was no distinction and singing, and dancing was done by the same performers, but we do not know for certain).

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All in all, we cannot reasonably expect reperformance of the dance to have been true to the original choreographies, even if texts, and possibly the music, were faithfully re-enacted by another chorus, unless poets and performers travelled about in order to rehearse a specific performance, choreography and all. They did: one Aineas, *chorodidaskalos*, is said by Pindar to carry an ode from Thebes to Stymphalos, as a *στυτάλα Μοισᾶν*, a 'message staff of the Muses.

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Over time, this will assist only in preserving a semblance of the original choreography if this process continues unbroken.

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I use 'semblance' because it is questionable for how long a choreography will remain unchanged, even if it could be disseminated without any change or loss. Probably not for long: memories can fail and musical and movement fashions will change. We will come back to that.

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At this stage of the argument, we must address the suggestion that oral culture employs dance as a mnemonic device. Eric Havelock has suggested that in the context of *mousikē* music and dance, both simple and repetitive, served only to make the words, or rather to make the undulations and ripple of the metre, more recollectable.

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Mnemonotechnics will have been important in oral society, but whether dance really was consciously introduced and functioned as a mnemonotechnic device to assist in memorizing words, is nothing but a guess. Whether dance movements functioned in the way in which one might seek to stimulate one's memory by a sequence of motor behaviour, 'going through the motions', is not clear at all. For movements to function as a mnemonic device, the movements should be more or less unchanging. If song and movement are equal partners, the more common view of *mousikē* or song and dance culture

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, it does not seem likely that the dance was simple, repetitive and static, a view which might have been inspired by the misguided idea that folk dance is simple, non-virtuoso, unchanging, on which more below. The self-reference by the singing chorus, drawing attention to their dancing, and the agonistic setting of much dancing, make one expect the choreographies (and the musical compositions) to be as interesting as the textual elements. Maybe we have to think of a set of stimulants, which reciprocally reinforce the process of memorizing. Still, there will have been limits to how much could be memorized for how long.

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We have been speaking about *mousikē* being disseminated. But now we have to turn to its vicissitudes in both its original and its new surroundings, if it remains 'on the repertoire', so to speak. And how about a truly 'traditional dance' – not a choreography by a contemporary individual, but something time-honoured (there is no true difference between the two, of course: traditions have to start somewhere)? We speak of first existence dance, handed down in a particular community across the generations: surely there are dances that in this way can be preserved for centuries on end? There have been a great many claims to this effect made. To take a somewhat relevant example (because there are reconstructionists, such as Marie-Hélène Delavaud-Roux in France or Anna Lazou in Greece, who look to modern Greek folkdances for the reconstruction of ancient movement patterns), ancient Greek dances are supposed to have survived even down to the present day with fairly little change, so little that the resemblance between ancient and modern dances is

recognizable.

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Many Greek authors have harboured and do harbour all sorts of preconceptions about continuity.

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The preconceptions resulted from Philhellenic urging to identify with the Greeks of Antiquity, Byron's "You have the Pyrrhic dance as yet ..." echoing down the years. And those defending an opposing viewpoint, such as Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer, the most outspoken opponent of cultural Philhellenism, worked as a powerful catalyst and turned out to be the Philhellenists' best advocates.

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Nationalistic sentiments are of course not a Greek prerogative, and form the basis for comparable survivalist thinking in many places.

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But there is no survival: neither in the long term, nor in the short term. I even think that dance is more prone to changes and distortions by internal dialectic and external influence than the less ephemeral word (the written word but also the spoken word) or music – but it will take a lot of work to substantiate this hypothesis.

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But whether its rate of change is different from that of the other components of *mousikē* or not, change it does. Even when every generation will be taught by their elders, the lack of codification – and when it is a living tradition, there rarely is any codification, as we have already seen – means that change is inevitable, usually slow, but inevitable. There is, I think, not a single dance that can be shown to have been preserved more or less fixed and unchanging. Indeed, not even codification appears to be of any help. Western ballet, very much codified indeed, is changing all the time; even the purest classical ballet technique has undergone long-term modifications

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– and, surprisingly, also short term modifications, which seem to come from the outside: fads and fashions crossing over from other movement idioms. Fixation might very well lead to a *greater* susceptibility to outside influences, because fixation can easily cause dysfunctionality. If a tradition shows itself able to resist outside influence and 'remain true to itself, this might very well be because of

a persistent, gradual process of internal change.

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Any expectations of an *unchanging* tradition build on the erroneous idea of 'folkways' that are unchanging, primeval. Here enter romantic ideas about the peasantry and the unspoilt past, when every change implies degeneration.

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But folkways *do* change, as societies change, and so do the dances, which are part of them. "'Custom' cannot afford to be invariant, because even in 'traditional' societies life is not so", as Eric Hobsbawm put it. Or even more succinctly in the Opies' wonderful phrase: "tradition is ever on the outlook for novelty".

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There are many examples of dance traditions changing all the time.

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Several of these are *supposed* by those who dance them to have been faithfully preserved from time immemorial. But dances said to be 'unchanged' or 'ancestral' need not even be old: they may very well have been newly introduced only a relatively short time ago. Thus in Australia traditional dances are considered as having Dreamtime origin, while new dances are constantly being handed down by the ancestors; but recently received dances will eventually achieve the status of having Dreamtime origin.

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Some African dances said to be age-old, might also be fairly recent creations: Dagomba drummers (who double as the tribal historians) have been heard to ascribe a particular historical origin to what is otherwise known as a 'traditional' dance.

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Twenty years ago Hobsbawm and Ranger edited the volume *The invention of tradition* which opened many eyes to the ways in which so-called traditions are made and adapted in a continuous process. Since, a whole academic industry sprang upon around this subject. Intriguing are of course situations in which tradition is highly prized, but dances are explicitly said to *have* been changing. Protests against degeneration and innovation, against dances 'without an origin' are quite common.

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They show a struggle for control over the tradition, but they also

demonstrate that contemporaries are aware of the fact that their dances are changing, even when such change is resented, or said to be resented.

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A buzz-word that is likely to interfere here is ‘authentic’.

73

During the second existence of some dance people are aiming ‘to dance in an authentic way’, and there can be only one such way: a conscious effort is made to reproduce ‘the original’, whatever that may be. Authenticity is invoked in order to accept or reject a particular performance. But as long as we are speaking of a living tradition, authenticity is no issue. During first existence people perform the same dance over and over, but they are likely to do it differently every time. During first existence authenticity is a given, because every single (re)performance is authentic. In fact, this also holds good for second existence performances (every performance is an authentic one, and change cannot be eradicated), but there ideology decrees otherwise.

35

Whenever dances (any dances, but particularly dances in their first existence) are said to be unchanging, whether by people speaking of their own dance tradition or by those studying a foreign tradition, past or present, we should insist that evidence for these assertions be brought forward. Without such evidence any dance tradition must *a priori* be considered to have been changing during all or most of its existence. Of course this does not imply that all dances in a given culture necessarily change at the same speed. The one part of a dance tradition may be very much alive, creative and thus in a constant flux, another part may be relatively slow to change because it is marginalized in one way or another. But change they may all be expected to, unless we can prove the opposite to be true. Obviously, this is not meant to say that dances cannot be preserved at least *in a general outline*: no one will deny that *some* dances in *some* area can show a continuity of *some* sort.

74

Innovation takes place within a traditional framework; in the words of Cecil Sharp: the individual may invent, but “the community selects”, and this necessarily brings about some continuity.

75

Indeed, a changing tradition implies an unbroken tradition.

36

One final point: when something is supposed to be unchanging, this implies a single point of departure. That need not be the elusive 'origin' of a tradition (though many researchers cannot refrain from speculation on this count): any arbitrarily chosen point of time can function as the standard against which one measures change or lack of it. But can such a standard exist in any meaningful way? Certainly, many dance traditions are not as monolithic as that. Indeed, with dance 'folkways' the quality of a dance might in fact be the potential to be danced in several *different* ways. It is not so much about a choreography that has a sacrosanct quality (as with some modern composers or choreographers who stricdy guard the integrity of every performance of their work – until they are dead, of course), but about a particular *performance*. It should be a good performance; there is above all a canon of performative excellence.

76

By contrast, our modern Western culture has a very strong conservative tendency, which I would like to call a museum mentality. We are preoccupied with preserving, restoring, recreating, and with questions of authenticity (in the narrow sense addressed above) and faithfulness. But a living tradition is a complex of vocabulary and rules, and not of ready-made stuff, and this vocabulary and these rules allow for a continuum from complete memorization and reproduction to complete improvisation or ex-temporising.

77

The freedom to move in this continuum, the freedom allowed to Levi-Strauss's *bricoleur*, we find in folk poetry, in folk art, in music and also in dance. So what can there actually be, to be preserved without change? Things are rather less tidy than they usually are supposed to be.

37

We know not even a single ancient Greek dance – but now we can come to a more serious conclusion: there is no dance to know. There is no *kordax*, *pyrrichē* or *hormos* to retrace. There are countless dances realized in countless performances, dances that because of some family resemblance go by the same name. If this is true about dance,

then it is true for the ensembles of which dance was an important part. Public events and all ritualized behaviour that goes with it are realized in particular performances, and they are changing from the one performance to the next. Small changes, sometimes larger ones: the rate of change is unknown, but is certain to be variable. Ancient public occasions are usually studied as if there would have been a single unchanging performance repeated for long periods of time, as one can see from the fact that evidence from different time frames is combined into a single static picture. This helps in turning ancient Greek religion (archaic, classical, Hellenistic religion) into something more or less timeless. It is not: although it is highly persistent and its basic ingredients are extremely stable over time, it is anything but unchanging. Its persistence proves its adaptability.

38

The efficacy of ritual is usually said to depend on it being done 'the right way'. But that need not imply exact reproduction. Indeed, when *mousikē* is involved, exact reproduction is unlikely and in the long run utterly impossible. Text, scenarios, music, all verbalized or notated elements, may be preserved faithfully when put into writing (which does not say anything about the way they are understood and put to use), but the nonverbal components will be inherently unstable. If we accept that the nonverbal was an important ingredient in most public events of the ancient Greek world, we also have to accept that there is no single public event for us to know: it is changing with every performance. This may be imperceptible change, or more sudden renewal, but change it does. It would have been changing anyhow, but the uncoded, nonverbal part can be trusted to change whatever effort is made to avoid change.

Approaches: generalized

39

It is about time to start working on what we *do* have.

78

What do we have? We have a generalized picture of a society in which a lot of dancing is going on, especially at public events, different kinds of dancing, the nature of which we can broadly distinguish. We have to do away with the hunt for particular dances and *schēmata*,

and with the attempts to explain these as fitting in with some religious scenario. This leads to a fox hunt across many genres of texts and images dated to any period between Homer and Byzantium, looking for something that never was, a reifying, antiquarian search for the meaning of a name, for the link between a name and some nameless imagery, for some clever explanation of what this particular dance that we have reconstructed or rather constructed ourselves, was supposed to represent. But instead of trying to figure out what the *kordax* looked like and what it ‘really’ was, we should ask about all dancing (literally: all of it) going on at the public events of the Greek world, and what role it was supposed to fulfil. That is the sort of thing that is documented, however inadequately.

40

When we get to work, we should broaden our base to include both comparative material (incredible opportunities here: there is dance in almost every known human society, past and present!), and the theorizing on dance, in the past decades brought to impressive heights by newer dance scholarship.

79

They can help to fill some of the inevitable gaps. Of course, we should be selective: a formalistic approach to dance, adopted by several dance anthropologists and especially by dance ethnologists in their study of living dance traditions, is of no use, as all details of ancient Greek dance movement are lost.

80

But there is much more, and we should look over the fence – or we are done for.

81

Until now, the impact of dance scholarship on other disciplines has been comparatively slight, but there are some signs that its results are slowly filtering in. In the field of ancient Greek dance, Claude Calame was a trailblazer in 1977 – unless one wants to see Kurt Latte as such, but his work on the dance, first published in 1913, with its references to Frazer’s *Golden Bough* and to several members of the Cambridge School, was without issue; Latte apparently was way ahead of the others.

82

After Calame, we see bits and pieces of dance scholarship cropping up and by now it seems to have become a trend.

Another name that I should mention is that of Albert Henrichs, who not only wrote on the dance himself, but also played an important inspirational role.

Interesting too to see that Calame has been involved with some of those whose names also can be found in Henrichs' sphere (Anton Bierl and Paola Ceccarelli). The trend I think I have spotted, apparently is more than a mere construct of my historiography.

41

In my own work on the ancient Greek dance, I have drawn heavily on the new dance scholarship, in trying to establish the functions it fulfilled. I came up with several things, none of them unique to dance, although dance does them in its own way.

First, dancing distinguished the occasion as other than ordinary. Dancing at a public event signals that this indeed is an event. Even before getting down to the communication of any contents, dance had already communicated by its very movement patterns that there was a special occasion at hand.

42

Secondly, dance is a crowd pleaser: it helps now and helped then to draw an audience. Greek public events were always in need of attractions. Obviously some more than others, but even if the danger of having no audience at all seemed very distant, there will have been an urge to maximize the audience (within certain parameters).

Dance, amongst many other attractions, will do the trick. In societies where dance is omnipresent, everybody is, or has been, a dancer. There is a deep knowledge of performance that comes from participation and from continuous exposure. The connoisseur likes to see other people dance. In ancient Greece I suppose we can readily call most people connoisseurs. If the society is one in which performance is more important than the written word, there is even more reason why dance will be able to mobilize a sizable audience.

I think a good case can be made for considering the ancient Greek world such an environment. It is a fact that public events drew crowds, and that attractions were put into place to mobilize the

audience. Attractions have never been rated, but it seems reasonable to hypothesize that dance was important amongst those attractions.

43

Thirdly, dance not only signals and attracts, it also communicates. Communication I define as the process whereby human beings intentionally and effectively share messages and meanings.

88

Dance movements can carry meaning. The dance itself is not 'meaningful' other than in the sense that rhythmized movement for biological reasons appeals to human beings. There is no hidden code to crack about some peculiar significance of the dance for ancient Greek society. But the dance sends out messages in order to share the meaning it carries, like any performance. The idea that ritual is essentially meaningless, and consists of rote behaviour not based on belief, seems quite nonsensical to me. When we state that something carries meaning, we mean that meaning is *imparted*. Human culture consists in human beings going round and attributing meaning to everything (not necessarily in a consistent, unambiguous or even comprehensible manner).

89

It is a vehicle, which effectively carries whatever meaning it is made to carry in a given context. These meanings are dynamic: they are no other than what at a given moment in a given area in a given context is agreed on.

44

Of course we, at a remove of two millennia and more and having to cope with defective evidence, will have to painstakingly reconstruct any such meaning. In doing this, I suggest that as a rule we should avoid complex ingenious solutions and adopt broad connotative ones. At public events dance was used, I suggest, to communicate at a glance what would have taken relatively uninspiring words to explain. These were simple messages – but it was simple things that the ritual was about in the first place. Banal, but ever so essential things as death, (new) life, the group, the community, the Other. (By the way, things most of our communication is about, still.)

90

Much of this is (also) the construction and dissemination of an identity, the "story they tell themselves about themselves" to quote again these rather overworked, but undying words of Clifford Geertz.

Needless to say, this does not imply the presence of a single unproblematic story; of course performances can deal with *contested* identities and world views, and can be used to further the interests of a particular group, to subvert or to protest.

45

Dance is an *effective* medium of communication, because it is an *affective* medium. One had better not put into words messages that are not so easily put into words without running the risk of becoming rather too literal, or using a lot of boring circumlocution – modern scholarship about ancient religion shows as much (but has no alternatives open to it). The performance, and its kinetic element – central to the dance – helped to get such messages across in a way that got to the core of the matter, and also to the audience's core, or under their skin.

That the performers communicate with their fellow performers seems evident: for those who join in, there is something very forceful in acting in unison. But they communicate almost as well with the attentive and involved members of the audience. To participate vicariously is a common human experience. What is important about the dance is *the way* in which it communicates: the messages are much the same whatever the medium, but with the dance the movement – structured by music, and frequently 'subtitled' by song – is put in a central position. It made the audience – all connoisseurs – feel in their own body what was being communicated.

46

Fourthly, dancing is usually a rather strenuous or at least a complicated activity. There is every reason to think that ancient Greek dancing will have been very difficult (from the perspective of the ordinary inhabitant of any modern society) and will have required extensive training: the simplicity of 'folk dance' or 'historic dance' is a myth. This is supported by the fact that dance performances, like other performances, were often put on within an agonistic context. I suggest that this very fact of its demanding physicality is part of the aptness of dance in public events in which gods have to be honoured. One honours the gods by spending energy, by undertaking something difficult and trying to make the very best

of it. The effort being made pleases the gods, who might be in the audience and who are dancers themselves. The human audience is humoured too, as their tastes are not different from those of the gods. Frequently dance, like many other forms of spending energy, is undertaken in a competitive context, which is in fact implied by the idea of 'making the best of it'.

93

47

So dancing is physical and direct, and that is why it is good to do, and why it is good at doing what it is supposed to do: signalling an event, mobilizing an audience, communicating to that audience and offering one's energy and effort in an attempt to please the gods. Performances are not non-essential extras, to be left out, or included in, ancient public events (or modern studies of such events) more or less at will. They are essential ingredients without which most of these events would have been incomplete in the eyes of the contemporary, both unattractive and ineffective. However compelling this may sound, I cannot quote any source in which the above functions of the dance are outlined as such (if you did not find it compelling, you will say you expected as much). The evidence is circumstantial. Still, without our jargon at hand, some Greeks knew quite well what phenomenon they were trying to explain. Plato concluded that his brave new world could not do without *mousike*, but that it was to be controlled and curtailed. He knew it for a force so strong as to be potentially very disruptive.

94

The Christians too understood very well what they were up against. The church has long combated *mousike* in many shapes.

95

Not only was it enmeshed with pagan religion, but they also understood its strength that, even if it could be put to new purposes, would be difficult to control. Neither are the supposed messages of the dance spelled out in our sources. People do not write down the obvious, and they certainly do not do so when the very reason why these messages are put into dance is their increased effectiveness compared to mere words. Alas, they did not tell us that either. So again we have to make do with circumstantial evidence.

Approaches: contextualized

48

This story does not end here. We should move on from the generalizing search for unifying themes, which up to now has been my main concern, to historical contingency, without of course sliding back into the antiquarian habit of merging our sources into a timeless image, false of necessity. We should instead move towards the contextualization that goes with true history. Above I have spoken about the possibility to map out the incidence of the dance (sometimes, but hardly always, specified as a particular kind of dance) in the ancient Greek world on the basis of the written and iconographical evidence of a documentary character.

96

There will be some distortion, because we will seldom have adequate information on particular performances; most of our material, combined into small series of material close in date, refers to a series of performances. But these performances will all have been different: even change over a period as short as a decennium can be marked. It is a proper thing explicitly to notice as much, but there is nothing to be done about it: this is a source of unavoidable distortion. One can only hope that there will be good comparative evidence available on the rate, speed and direction of change in dance traditions.

49

It is only on the basis of this mapping exercise that we can test some hypotheses, outlined below. That will enable us to truly substantiate the central position of the dance in public events, and the role of dance as a mobilizing agent and a medium of communication. I have formulated seven hypotheses:

1. Public events throughout the Greek world will have made use of performances to mobilize and communicate. Amongst such performances dance will have been very common. What percentage of reasonably well-documented public events does *not* include dancing? What percentage of badly documented public events does?
2. Public events are very likely to have made use of dancing as an attraction and medium of communication, unless some other kind of performance monopolized the event. If we have a well-

documented event without any dancing, is this an event that can be shown to have been monopolized by a particular (kind of) non-dance performance?

3. In a pluralistic religious economy with largely non-exclusive firms, that is client cults, people will shop around, and to attract their attention cults will put more effort in mobilizing.

97

Does the incidence of dance rise when the number of cults rises?

4. In a crowded market non-exclusive religious firms tend to specialize. The more private religious goods are on offer, the larger the chance that there will be very much dancing or no dancing at all. On the other hand, collective public events are more likely to include at least some dancing. Is there any difference between the incidence of dancing at the public events organized by and for a whole community and the incidence of dancing at public events organized for a limited audience or by a particular firm or both?
5. Exclusive religious firms can do away with performative mobilizing attractions. Do we find that exclusivity negatively influences the incidence of dancing? Or is its communicative value paramount?
6. At public events the messages communicated, by the dance or some other medium, are of a simple straightforward kind. If we can establish details such as number and age of participants in the dance, or the name of the dance, or general aspects of the movement, are these details in any way to be related to what we think we can reconstruct as the meaning communicated by the performances at this particular event or as concomitant with the event at large? If this is not possible, can this be because of changes over time?
7. Dance is effective as a mobilizing/communicating agent and unlikely to be removed from an event while other performances are continued. Thus, when an event has included dance in its programme, it is likely to retain it. Does dancing, which is known to have been part of an event's programme, remain part of that programme for as long as the event itself survives?

To anyone who has read my *Attractive performances*, or just the three-page conclusion of the third part of that book, the above set of testable hypotheses may seem quite familiar. That is right, they are almost identical to what I proposed seven years ago. Yes, I still consider this as a way forward. No, I did not find the time myself. Any takers? Dance is a subject that goes straight to the heart of ancient religious history and thus of ancient history at large, so why hesitate?

Notes

10. Taplin, "Spreading the word through performance", in S. Goldhill, R. Osborne (eds), *Performance culture and Athenian democracy*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 33-57, quote from p. 33.

2 D. Handelman, *Models and mirrors. Towards an anthropology of public events*, Cambridge, 1990, p. 3.

3 S.J. Tambiah, "A performative approach to ritual", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 65 (1979), p. 113-169, reprinted, with some revisions in *id.*, *Culture, thought and social action: an anthropological perspective*, Cambridge, Mass., 1985, p. 123-166; see also *ibid.*, introduction.

4 Despite their obvious importance, I would never consider public events to be coterminous with ancient religious life. The adage "polis religion is Greek religion" is manifestly wrong; cf. F. Dunand, "Fêtes et réveil religieux dans les cités grecques à l'époque hellénistique", in A. MOTTE, C. Ternes (eds), *Dieux, fêtes, sacré dans la Grèce et la Rome antiques*, Turnhout, 2003, p. 101-112: "nous ne saisissons guère la piété grecque que dans ses manifestations les plus extérieures" (p. 111). And not even all 'manifestations extérieures' are public events.

5 E.g. J.N. Bremmer, *Greek religion*, Oxford, 1994, p. 1; S. Price, *Religions of the Ancient Greeks*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 3.

6 On non-verbal communication, cf. F.G. Naerebout, *Attractive performances. Ancient Greek dance: three preliminary studies*, Amsterdam, 1997, p. 383-389, with many references.

7 On the vocabulary of ancient Greek dancing, Naerebout, *o.c.* (n. 6), p. 174-189; more specifically on the etymology of *choros* and *orcheuma*: p. 178-179.

8 On definition theory and the need for etic definitions, I follow J.A.M. Snoek, *Initiations. A methodological approach to the application of classification and definition*

theory in the study of rituals, Pijnacker, 1987. About emic/etic, see M. Harris, "History and significance of the emic/etic distinction", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 5 (1976), p. 329-350, and T.N. Headland, K.L. Pike, M. Harris (eds), *Emies and etics. The insider/outsider debate*, Newbury Park, 1990. Central texts (not only concerning religion) are reprinted in R.T. McCutcheon (ed.), *The insider/outsider problem in the study of religion: a reader*, London, 1999. My plea for etic definitions does not imply a preference for an exclusively etic stance in research: I side with Clifford Geertz (C. Geertz, "From the native's point of view": on the nature of anthropological understanding", in K.H. Basso, HA. Selby (eds), *Meaning in anthropology*, Albuquerque, 1976, p. 221-237) in maintaining that we should study the experience-near concepts of our informants, as he calls emic concepts, but always in connection with the experience-distant concepts of scholarship. On this issue in the field of religion, where it is hotly contested, see McCutcheon (ed.), o.c., and E. Arweck, M.D. Stringer (eds), *Theorizing faith. The insider/outsider problem in the study of ritual*, Birmingham, 2002.

9 My etic definition: Naerebout, o.c. (n. 6), p. 165-166, with subsequent adaptations.

10 For the concept of dance event: A.P. Royce, *The anthropology of dance*, Bloomington, 1977, p. 10 (after Joan Kealiinohomoku); L. Torp (ed.), *The dance event: a complex cultural phenomenon. Proceedings from the 15th symposium of the ICTM study group on ethnochoreology*, Copenhagen, 1988. An impressive study of dance events, is J.K. Cowan, *Dance and the body politic in Northern Greece*, Princeton, 1990 (cf. my review in *Paradosi* 16 (July-August, 1994) p. 12-15, in Greek).

11 W O. Beema, "The anthropology of theater and spectacle", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 22 (1993), p. 369-393.

12 *Mousike* has hardly ever been addressed as such, only in a fragmentary way. Now, however, there is P. Murray, P. Wilson (eds), *Music and the Muses. The culture of 'mousike' in the classical Athenian city*, Oxford, 2004. E. Andronikou, C Lanara, Z. Papadopoulou, A.G. Voutira (eds), *Geschenke der Musen. Musik und Tanz im antiken Griechenland/ Μουσών δώρα. Μουσικοί και χορευτικοί απόηχοι από την αρχαία Ελλάδα*, Athens, 2003, addresses music and dance within a single very well-illustrated catalogue, but nowhere brings the two together (also hampered by the fact that in modern Greek μουσική is 'music'). *Mousikē* is put centre stage in F.G. Naerebout, "Ο χορός στην αρχαία Ελλάδα. Μια απόπειρα κατανόησης", *Αρχαιολογία και τέχνες* 90 (2004), p. 8-14 (in Greek, with English summary – where the μουσική-problem is solved typographically).

13 I can only give a mere handful of titles with a focus on movement/dance which I found useful: M. Moerman, M. Nomura (eds), *Culture embodied*, Osaka, 1990; T. Turner, "The social body and embodied subject: bodiliness, subjectivity and sociality among the Kayapo", *Cultural Anthropology* 10 (1995), p. 143-170; H. Thomas, J. Ahmed (eds), *Cultural bodies: ethnography and theory*, Oxford, 2004. The overview by S.A. Reed, "The politics and poetics of dance", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27 (1998), p. 503-532, focuses on the typical concerns of the 1990s: gender, identity, and social body. In the introductory chapter to the volume on performance, which

he edited with Robin Osborne (o.c. n. 1), Simon Goldhill claims the same status for the concept 'performance': 'performance' and 'embodiment' are of course closely related (cf. n. 14 *infra*).

14 The 'postmodern challenge' has not gone unheeded, it has been re-affirmed that history/ histories is/are a construct, and we have moved on: cf. G.G. Iggers, *Historiography in the 20th century: from scientific objectivity to the postmodern challenge*, Hanover, NH, 1997, and R. Anchor, "On how to kick the history habit and discover that every day in every way, things are getting meta and meta and meta...", *History & Theory* 40 (2001), 104-116. A striking example of the ongoing foregrounding of the body: at the University of London Goldsmiths College a new research forum was recently (January 2004) inaugurated: the Centre on the Body and Performance. It seeks to unite drama studies, dance studies and the study of other performative genres by focussing on the body.

15 Taplin, *l.c.* (n. 1), p. 33: "ancient Greek societies were extraordinarily performanceful"; P. Wilson, "The aulos in Athens", in Goldhill – Osborne, o.c. (n. 1), p. 58-95: "... music, virtually omnipresent in all Greek life."

16 Sophocles, *Oedipus tyrannus*, 896. For this interpretation, see, amongst others, O. Taplin, "Fifth-century tragedy and comedy: a synkrisis", *JHS* 106 (1986), p. 163-174. Cf. A. Henrichs, "Warum soll ich denn tanzen?" *Dionysisches im Chor der griechischen Tragödie*, Stuttgart/Leipzig, 1996.

17 To give only a few examples out of very many: in Price, o.c. (n. 5), and in J.D. Mikalson, *Ancient Greek religion*, Oxford, 2005, there is no dance in the index, and almost no dance in the text. B. Goff, *Citizen Bacchae. Women's ritual practice in ancient Greece*, Berkeley, 2004, despite having 'practice' in her title, hardly mentions the dance, not even in the pages on the chorus (p. 85 sq.): the bland "dancing was a feature of all choral events" (96) hardly does credit to the subject. For a comparable complaint about the absence of music from studies of ancient religion, see the introduction to P. Brule, C. Vendries, *Chanter les dieux. Musique et religion dans l'Antiquité grecque et romaine*, Rennes, 2001 [cf. the extensive review by E. van Keer, *Kernos* 16 (2003), p. 357-363]. One can only agree – but notice at the same time that there is but little dance in their book; in general music and dance are studied in unwanted isolation (this is also meant as self-criticism); A. Barker (ed.), *Greek musical writings, vol. 1: the musician and his art*, Cambridge, 1984, is an exemplary exception.

18 Still the best article on early Christianity and the dance is C. Andresen, "Altchristliche Kritik am Tanz. Ein Ausschnitt aus dem Kampf der alten Kirche gegen heidnischen Sitte", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 4th ser. 10 (1961), p. 217-262. For subsequent anti-dance tracts: F.G. Naerebout, "Snoode exercitien. Het zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlandse protestantisme en de dans", *Volkskundig Bulletin* 16 (1990), p. 125-155, with many references. For a background to our modern thinking on the dance, see A. Arcangeli, *Davide o Salomé. Il dihattito europeo sulla danza nella prima età moderna*, Treviso/Rome, 2000. Kinaesthetic awareness: B.

Quirey, "The crucial gap", *Dance Research* 1. 1 (1983), p. 50-55, on many in modern society not 'being kinaesthetically alive' – ancient historians and classicists not excepted.

19 F.G. Naerebout, "Which way forward for dance history?", in *Dance history. The teaching and learning of dance history. Proceedings of the conference held at The Royal Opera House, Convent Garden, London, 3rd-5th November 2000*, London, 2001, p. 41-50, and *id.*, "Not enough. Looking back on the EADH conference on the teaching and learning of dance history", forthcoming. Cf. L.M. Brooks, "Dance history and method: a return to meaning", *Dance Research* 20.1 (2002), p. 33-53.

20 In the introduction by Murray – Wilson, *o.c.* (n. 12), p. 8. I came to the same conclusion: F.G. Naerebout, "Dance in ancient Greece: anything new?", in A. Lazou, A. Raftis, M. Borowska (eds), *Orchesis. Texts on ancient Greek dance*, Athens, 2003, p. 139-162. Was it modesty, or the fact that it is not about dance in a strict sense, that made Peter Wilson refrain from mentioning his own marvellous study: P. Wilson, *The Athenian institution of the khoregia. The chorus, the city and the stage*, Cambridge, 2000? Cf. n. 83-85 *infra*.

21 Plato, *Leges*, 654a.

22 We are dealing here with a lot of uncertainties: illustrative is the discussion surrounding the masks found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia: see G. Dickins, "The masks", in R.M. Dawkins (ed.), *The sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*, London, 1929, p. 163-186, with J.B. Carter, "The masks at Ortheia", *AJA* 91 (1987), p. 355-383, and *ead.*, "Masks and poetry in early Sparta", in R. Hagg, N. Marinatos, G.C. Nordquist (eds), *Early Greek cult practice*, Stockholm, 1988, p. 89-98.

23 Dance floors can be disambiguated by name (such as Kallichoros), or by inscriptions (such as the rupestral inscriptions at Thera, *IG XII* 3, 536; 540; 543, if these indeed mention dance, cf. the doubts expressed by M. Hofinger, *Études sur le vocabulaire du grec archaïque*, Leiden, 1981, p. 125-129; on the relevance of such archaic inscriptions for the dance, see K. Robb, *Literacy and paideia in ancient Greece*, New York, 1994. On the possible sexual double-entendre, see the references in Naerebout, *o.c.* (n. 6), p. 181, n. 391; add P.A. Rosenmeyer, "Girls at play in early Greek poetry", *AJPh* 125 (2004), p. 163-178).

24 G. Prudhommeau, *La danse grecque antique*, Paris, 1965.

25 On Nonnus' neologisms and his drive towards *poikilia* in general, see several articles in N. Hopkinson (ed.), *Studies in the Dionysiaca of Nonnus*, Cambridge, 1994. R.F. Newbold, "Nonverbal expressions in late Greek epic: Quintus of Smyrna, Nonnus", in F. Poyatos (ed.), *Advances in nonverbal communication. Sociocultural, clinical, esthetic and literary perspectives*, Amsterdam, 1992, p. 271-283, has shown Nonnus' sensitivity to nonverbal communication, especially the dance.

26 The high point of such speculation was reached in Prudhommeau, *o.c.* (n. 24), (who actually made films as here referred to), but it had its roots as far back as M. Emmanuel, *Essai sur l'orchestique grecque*, Paris 1895, repeated as *La danse grecque antique d'après les monuments figures*, Paris, 1896, not by chance published in the year

of the official birth of the cinema and in a period of experiments with chronophotography. Scholars may shrug their shoulders, but the influence of this kind of reconstructionist work runs very deep, and will certainly not diminish by the continuing inclusion of Prudhommeau's work, defective in very many ways, in bibliographies on ancient Greek dancing, etc. (e.g. *Mentor, Guide bibliographique de la religion grecque* (Kernos Suppl. 2), n° 1729: "étude magistrale").

27 On dance notation, see C. Jeschke, *Tanzschriften, ihre Geschichte und Methode*, Bad Reichenhall, 1983, and A.H. Guest, *Choreo-graphics: a comparison of dance notation systems from the fifteenth century to the present*, New York, 1989. Both works make clear that no truly workable notation was designed before the last century, following some 18th- and 19th-century attempts.

28 *Etymologiae* III, 15: *nisi enim ab homine memoria teneantur, soni pereunt, quia scribi non possunt*.

29 On music notation, see M.L. West, *Ancient Greek music*, Oxford, 1992, p. 254-273 (and cf. documents, p. 277-326), and E. Pöhlmann, M.L. West, *Documents of ancient Greek music. The extant melodies and fragments*, Oxford, 2001, where the original and modern notation of every fragment is given in full; with reference to older work, especially several relevant titles by Pöhlmann.

30 I thank Ms F.A.J. Hoogendijk for drawing my attention to this material.

31 Cf. M.B. Poliakoff, *Studies in the terminology of Greek combat sports*, Königstein, 1982, p. 75, 161-171.

32 This limited human movement vocabulary makes it easy to find a picture showing a pose identical or look-alike to some ancient Greek imagery from a quite different source, for instance the rich dance traditions of Asia or Central America. Unless one makes diffusionist theory go a very long way (some do: D. Watts, *The renaissance of the Greek ideal*, London, 19202, p. 40, claims jiu-jitsu as Greek heritage), such an identity or likeness must be accidental. This need not surprise us, as the range of movements and poses to choose from is rather limited, mainly because of physiological constraints. In fact the range of movements and poses used in dance the world over is quite small, and in this way one will often be able to observe (near) identical, but nevertheless historically unrelated phenomena. This also holds good for material deriving from within the Greek world.

33 Reconstructionism started with Maurice Emmanuel (cf. n. 26); in the 20th century this kind of research was kept alive by Louis Séchan (L. Séchan, *La danse grecque antique*, Paris, 1930), and especially by Germaine Prudhommeau. A present-day advocate of what by now we might call a French school of reconstructionism, although moving along somewhat different lines, is M.-H. Delavaud-Roux, *Recherches sur la danse dans l'antiquité grecque (viie-ive s. av. J.C.)*, These de Doctorat, Université d'Aix-Marseille I, 3 vols, s.l., 1993, and several publications since. A thorough criticism of reconstructionism is to be found throughout Naerebout, o.c. (n. 6).

34 The fragments of musical notation give us texts set to music, but do not tell us

anything about performance practice. Cf. C. Ahrens, "Volksmusik der Gegenwart als Erkenntnisquelle für die Musik der Antike", *Die Musikforschung* 29 (1976), p. 37-45, on *Spielpraxis* (p. 38).

35 J.J. Pollitt, "Early Classical Greek art in a Platonic universe", in C.G. Boulter (ed.), *Greek art: archaic into classical. A symposium held at the University of Cincinnati, 1982*, Leiden, 1985, p. 96-111, esp. p. 99-100. Cf. J.J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic age*, Cambridge, 1986, p. 141, who defines 'realism' as "an attempt to reflect one's experience of the natural and human world without the intercession of some notion of an ideal or perfect form".

36 For non-dancers turned into dancing figures, see Naerebout, o.c. (n. 6), p. 246, n. 576; a third example is in M.T.M. Moevs, "Ephemeral Alexandria: the pageantry of the Ptolemaic court and its documentation," in R.T. Scott, A.R. Scott (eds), *Eius virtutis studiosi: classical and postclassical studies in memory of Frank Edward Brown (1908-1988)*, Washington, 1993, p. 123-148; she shows that the pose of the bronze so-called dancing satyr from Alexandria, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art (p. 136, fig. 21) derives from the Silenos carrying a basket of grapes, known from Campana reliefs (cf. *ibid.*, p. 135, fig. 18-19).

37 F.G. Naerebout, "The Baker dancer and other Hellenistic statuettes of dancers. Illustrating the use of imagery in the study of dance in the ancient Greek world," *Imago Musicae* 18/19 (2001/2002), p. 59-83. For a comparable take on the komasts in Corinthian black-figure, see the important work by T.J. Smith, "Festival? What festival? Reading dance imagery as evidence," in S. Bell, G. Davies (eds), *Games and festivals in classical antiquity. Proceedings of the conference held in Edinburgh 10-12 July 2000*, Oxford, 2004, p. 9-23.

38 In addition to the literature quoted in Naerebout, l.c. (n. 36), see L.J. Wales, *Women and veiling in the ancient world*, Bradford, 2000, and L. Llewellyn-Jones (ed.), *Women's dress in the ancient Greek world*, London, 2002.

39 Eros in a dancing movement with a himation drawn up to his eyes: three terracottas from Myrina: Leipzig T2186, mid-2nd century BC (E. Paul, *Antike Welt in Ton. Griechische unci römische Terrakotten des Archäologischen Institutes in Leipzig*, Leipzig, 1962, n° 232); Leiden LKA 1028, around 100 BC (P.G. Leyenaar-Plaisier, *Les terres cuites grecques et romaines. Catalogue de la collection du Musée national des antiquités à Leiden*, Leiden, 1979, n° 703); Karlsruhe B2237, first half 1st century BC (W. Schürmann, *Katalog der antiken Terrakotten im Badischen Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe*, Göteborg, 1989, n° 426). A dancing actor with satyr mask dressed like a mantle dancer: two terracottas from Centuripe: Dresden Z.V. 3867, early 2nd century (K. Knoll et al., *Die Antiken in Alhertinum, Dresden, Mainz*, 1993, n° 65); Germany, private collection, early 2nd century (K.A. Neugebauer, *Antiken in deutschem Privatbesitz*, Berlin, 1938, n° 123). A dancing dwarf with a woman's veil: the well-known Mahdia-bronze as interpreted by S. Pfisterer-Haas, "Zur Kopfbedeckung des Bronzetänzers von Mahdia", *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* (1991), p. 99-105. For what it is worth: M. Robertson, "A muffled dancer and others", in A.H.

Cambitoglou (ed.), *Studies in honour of Arthur Dale Trendall*, Sydney, 1979, p. 129-134, discusses an enigmatic image in which a mantle dancer and a dwarf dance together.

40 Much attention is paid to divine prototypes in S.H. Lonsdale, *Dance and ritual play in Greek religion*, Baltimore, 1993, but there is as yet no satisfactory account of dancing divinities in ancient Greece. U. Woessner, *Zur Deutung des Göttertanzes in Indien und Griechenland: Eine religionsphänomenologische Betrachtung*, Cologne, 1981, is no help at all.

41 Krateriskoi: T.F. Scanlon, *Eros and Greek athletics*, Oxford, 2002, p. 166-174. Kabirion: U. Heimberg, *Die Keramik des Kabirions*, Berlin, 1982. Kharayeb: M.H. Chehab, *les terres cuites de Kharayeb*, Paris, 1951-1954, pl. 36-38. Priene: Berlin TC8607-8609: J. Raeder, *Priene. Funde aus einer griechischen Stadt im Berliner Antikenmuseum*, Berlin, 1984, n^{os} 95-97. The Pyrrhias aryballos: Corinth C-54-1: D.A. Amyx, *Corinthian vase-painting of the archaic period*, Berkeley, 1988, p. 165; M.C. Roebuck, C.A. Roebuck, "A prize aryballos", *Hesperia* 24 (1955), p. 158-163. Karneia krater: Tarento IG8263, A.D. Trendall, *The red-figured vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*, Oxford, 1967, n° 55/280, and J.-M. Moret, "Un ancêtre du phylactère: le pilier inscrit des vases italiotes", *RA* (1979), p. 3-34. The Athenian reliefs: NM 3854 (*SEG* 23, 103): J.-C. Poursat, "Une base signée du Musée National d'Athènes: pyrrhichistes victorieux", *BCH* 91 (1967), p. 102-110; Akropolis Museum 1338 (*IG* II², 3025; *SEG* 30, 104; 126; 128): Wilson, o.c. (n. 20), fig. 2.

42 P. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale*, Paris, 1970. For the abstractions, cf. n. 43 *infra*.

43 A long tradition stretching from Joannes Meursius in the early 17th century to the extensive oeuvre of Lillian B. Lawler (see P.W. Rovik, "Homage to Lillian B. Lawler, with a selected bibliography of her writings on dance", *Journal for the anthropological study of human movement* 6 (1991), p. 159-168) and beyond: F. Brommer, "Antike Tänze", *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1989), 483-494, is a fairly recent prominent example. The tradition is charted at length in the first part of Naerebout, o.c. (n. 6) (revised and translated as *La danza greca antica. Cinque secoli d'indagine*, Lecce, 2001). In the compiling of a dictionary the risks of falling back on old-fashioned approaches is evidently large: the authors of entries for individual dances in *Der Neue Pauly*, Stuttgart, 1996-, have fallen into this trap.

44 F. Hoerburger, "Once again: on the concept of folk dance", *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 20 (1968), p. 30-32. A. Nahachewsky, "Once again: on the concept of 'second existence folk dance'", *Yearbook for traditional music* 33 (2001), p. 17-28, adds several subtleties, but Hoerburger's main ideas still stand up. A more serious objection can be found in the work of M. Louis, *Le folklore et la danse*, Paris, 1963, p. 42-43, who distinguishes two kinds of first existence dances: 'dances folkloriques' and 'dances populaires'. The first are of a ritual nature and thus codified, with "un scénario intangible... réglé suivant des normes rigoureuses". The second are largely *ad hoc* creations. It remains to be established whether dance in a ritual context really has such a 'scénario intangible', codified and all, and whether

that implies any permanence.

45 15th-century Italy: Naerebout, o.c. (n. 6), p. 10-14. Pacific: J. Shennan, "Approaches to the study of dance in Oceania – is the dancer carrying an umbrella or not", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 90 (1981), p. 193-208; A.L. Kaeppler, *Poetry in motion. Studies in Tongan dance*, Tonga, 1993. Java: C. Brakel-Papenhuyzen, *The Bedhaya Court Dances of Central Java. A Mataram tradition of ritual art*, Leiden, 1991.

46 Some texts, most texts? We have no way to establish what percentage of texts went altogether unrecorded.

47 Doubts have been sown as to the choral nature of everything that has been called choral poetry; references in Naerebout, o.c. (n. 6), p. 199. G.B. D'Alessio, "First-person problems in Pindar", *BICS* 39 (1994), p. 117-139, came to a simple conclusion that still holds good: performance was choral as a rule, but actual practice will have been flexible (p. 117, n. 2).

48 See M.R. Lefkowitz, "The first person in Pindar reconsidered – again", *BICS* 40 (1995), p. 139-150, with references to the extensive discussion, focussed on Pindar, that went before. Cf. Naerebout, o.c. (n. 6), p. 198. I omitted to include any references to the transmission and reperformance of dramatic poetry, which in fact seems rather relevant to this question.

49 Relevant to the debate are, on the side of the pros: W. Rösler, *Dichter und Gruppe. Eine Untersuchung zu den Bedingungen und zur historischen Funktion frührer griechischer Lyrik am Beispiel Alkaios*, Munich, 1980 (careful); J. Herington, *Poetry into drama. Early tragedy and the Greek poetic tradition*, Berkeley, 1985 (much in favour, bringing together testimonies on reperformances in an appendix (p. 207-210, with cross-references); G. Nagy, *Poetry as performance. Homer and beyond*, Cambridge, 1996; R. Thomas, *literacy and orality in ancient Greece*, Cambridge, 1992. On the side of the cons: J. Danielewicz, "Deixis in Greek choral lyric", *QUCC* 34 (1990), p. 7-17; B. Gentiu, *Poetry and its public in ancient Greece from Homer to the fifth century*, Baltimore, 1988. A recent summing up in B. Currie, "Reperformance scenarios for Pindar's Odes", in C.J. Mackie (ed.), *Oral performance and its context = Orality and literacy in ancient Greece* 5, Leiden, 2004, 49-69, and in T.K. Hubbard, "The dissemination of epinician lyric: Pan-Hellenism, reperformance, written texts", *ibid.*, 71-93. Their approaches differ (and might be complimentary), but they both strongly defend choral reperformance.

50 As it was put by Currie, *l.c.* (n. 49), p. 69. Both Currie and Hubbard, *l.c.* (n. 49) argue for the public reperformance of epinician poetry by the family of the laudandus as a kind of private-public *choregia*, or as part of a festival, possibly at the site of the victory celebrated.

51 Pindar, *Nemea* V, 2-3. Cf. n. 93 *infra*.

52 There may not always have been written texts: reperformance may well have been more important. Cf. Thomas, o.c. (n. 49), p. 113-127. Besides, after dissemination, a text might become part of a fresh oral tradition, and there need not be any exact reproduction: thus, a text may be used selectively or may be

rephrased in order to fit a new situation or to be made more generic. Of course, the current view is that in performance even an established 'text' is never closed, but repeatedly realized, cf. A. Eschbach, *Pragmasemiotik und Theater. Ein Beitrag zur Theorie und Praxis einerpragmatisch orientierten Zeichenanalyse*, Tübingen, 1979, p. 78: *Text = Textrealisat*.

53 Rösler, o.c. (n. 49), p. 103-104.

54 No need to discuss all the nuances here: as far as dance is concerned, Greek culture remained firmly oral.

55 I. Rutherford, *Pindar's Paeans*, Oxford, 2001, p. 175-178. Cf. A.L. Boegehold, *When a gesture was expected. A selection of examples from archaic and classical Greek literature*, Princeton, 1999 (critically received, and certainly not above criticism, but more important than generally admitted, cf. the review by F.G. Naerebout, *Mnemosyne* 55 (2002), p. 740-745). Of course, the whole idea of 'stage instructions' is undermined if one supposes that, for instance, a chorus can speak of dancing, even of their own dancing, without in fact dancing there and then, as in B. Warnecke, "Zur Geschichte der Bühnenkunst", *RhM* 81 (1932), p. 45-50.

56 Pindar, *Olympia* VI, 88-91. It might be relevant that the Spartan *skutala* is used to produce a message that can only be read by the initiated, who have the right staff.

57 As much is suggested by Herington, o.c. (n. 49), p. 41-57, esp. p. 48. Doubts as to the viability of an unchanging transmission are expressed by Thomas, o.c. (n. 49), p. 122-123. T.J. Buckland, "Dance, authenticity and cultural memory: the politics of embodiment," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 33 (2001), p. 1-16, quotes an English folk dancer as saying: "we used to practice it purely to keep it [and not for performance], you know, so we didn't lose it... unless you keep up with it, you forget how to do it" (p. 12).

58 EA. Havelock, *Preface to Plato*, Cambridge, Mass., 1963, p. 150-151, and *id.*, "The preliteracy of the Greeks", *New Literary History* 8 (1976-1977), p. 369-391, esp. p. 370-371.

59 Not song accompanied by dance: "this is a misleading way of expressing the facts; one might as well say that the dance was accompanied by the words", as it was put by H.D.F. Kitto, "Rhythm, metre, and black magic", *CR* 56 (1942), p. 99-108, quote from p. 100.

60 See for instance the exaggerated claims by C. Zervos in his introduction to D. Stratou, *The Greek dances; our living link with Antiquity*, Athens, 1966, a booklet still on sale for visitors to Athens with an interest in folk dance.

61 Language of course plays its part: a dance carrying the same name then and now is the *surtos*; see A. Boeckh, *CIG* ad n° 1625 (not 1626, as in *IG* VII, 2712), following Leake. Cf. P. Kavakopoulos, "Ο συρτός. Ρεύνα και Έσυμπεράσματα", in Γ' Συμπόσιο Λαογραφίας του Βορειολλαδικού χώρου (Ηπειρος-Μακεδονία-Θράκη), Αλεξανδρούπολη 1976, Thessaloniki, 1979, p. 283-289 (*non vidi*). But as we all know, different things can carry the same name.

62 And of their Greek followers: Fallmerayer fittingly has been called '(einer) der

Stammväter einer nationalen griechischen Wissenschaft, die sich gegen ihn auf ihre eigene Geschichte und Sprache besinnen zu müssen glaubte' (p. 155), see H. Eideneier, "Hellenen – Philhellenen: ein historisches Missverständnis?", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 67 (1985), p. 137-159; for the whole complex ideological tangle, see M. Herzfeld, *Ours once more: folklore, ideology, and the making of modern Greece*, Austin, 1982.

63 For the political dimensions of culture (especially the role of music and dance in creating an ethnic identity) see T. Ingold, "Introduction to culture", in *id.* (ed.), *Companion encyclopedia of anthropology*, London, 1994, p. 329-349, esp. 346-348, and A.D. Smith, "The politics of culture: ethnicity and nationalism", *ibid.*, 706-733. Good analyses of nationalist sentiment obscuring the facts: S. Staub, "An inquiry into the nature of Yemenite Jewish dancing", in D.L. Woodruff (ed.), *Essays in dance research from the fifth CORD conference Philadelphia 1976*, New York, 1978, p. 157-168; E. Keschl, *Dance and authenticity in Israel and Palestine: performing the nation*, Leiden, 2003; I. Loutzaki, "Folk dance in political rhythms", *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 33 (2001), p. 127-138, and other articles in the same issue.

64A.L. Kaeppler, "Folklore as expressed in the dance in Tonga", *Journal of American Folklore* 80 (1967), p. 160-168, gives an example of dance movements changing, but the poetry that the movements accompany still referring to the same or similar themes (p. 168). But a different view (concerning the same area) can be found in Shennan, *l.c.* (n. 45), who argues that "the movement style is likely to be highly conservative ... texts provide new themes and new ideas ... (the) familiar movements can afford to stay that way. Only a very small proportion of innovative movement is appreciated" (p. 195 *sq.*). There seems to be no systematic research into such processes, but the examples of attested change (*cf.* n. 69 *infra*) make one wonder about the actual meaning of 'a highly conservative movement style'.

65 See R. Glasstone, "Changes of emphasis and mechanics in the teaching of ballet technique", *Dance Research* 1.1 (1983), p. 56-63, and *id.*, "Developments in classical ballet technique: a changing aesthetic", *Society for Dance Research Newsletter* 1 (1984) [not paginated]. I can confirm this from my own experience, but everyone will come to the same conclusion after viewing a series of, say, *Swan Lakes* performed by the same company, in the same choreography, but filmed in different decades.

66*Cf.* J.W. Kealiinohomoku, "Culture change: functional and dysfunctional expressions of dance, a form of affective culture", in J. Blacking, J.W. Kealiinohomoku (eds), *The performing arts*, The Hague, 1979, p. 47-64. Of course there are other factors involved as well.

67 T.J. Buckland, "Traditional dance, English ceremonial and social forms", in J. Adshead, J. Layson (eds), *Dance history. A methodology for study*, London, 1983, p. 162-175. Essential reading: M.T. Hodgen, *The doctrine of survivals*, London, 1936, and *ead.*, *Anthropology, history, and cultural change*, Tucson, 1974.

68 E. Hobsbawm, "Introduction", in E. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger (eds), *The invention of tradition*, Cambridge, 1983, p. 2; I. OPIE, P. Opie, "Certain laws of folklore", in V.J.

Newall (ed.), *Folklore Studies in the twentieth century. Proceedings of the centenary conference of the Folklore Society*, Woodbridge, 1980, p. 64-75, quote from p. 69.

69 E.E. Evans-Pritchard, "The dance", in *id.*, *The position of women in primitive society and other essays in social anthropology*, London, 1965, p. 165-180, esp. p. 170; Royce, o.c. (n. 10), p. 110; J.W. Keamnohomoku, "Ethnic historical study", in *ead.* (ed.), *Dance history research. Perspectives from related arts and disciplines*, New York, 1970, p. 86-97; *ead.*, "Folk dance", in R.M. Dorson (ed.), *Folklore and folklife, an introduction*, Chicago, 1972, p. 381-404; K. Horak, "Systematik des deutschen Volkstanzes", *Osterreichische Zeitschrift fur Volkskunde* 78 (1975), p. 119-141, esp. p. 129; Hoerbuerger, *l.c.* (n. 44); Staub, *l.c.* (n. 63); J. Binet, *Sociétés de danse chez les Fang du Gabon*, Paris, 1972; Brakel-Papenhuyzen, o.c. (n. 45). Very relevant to the whole issue is J.-M. Guilcher, "Aspects et problèmes de la danse populaire traditionnelle", *Ethnologie française* 1 (1971), p. 7-48.

70 A. Grau, "Sing a dance – dance a song. The relationship between two types of formalized movements and music among the Tiwi of Melville and Bathurst Islands, North Australia", *Dance Research* 1.2 (1983), p. 32-44, and *ead.*, "Tiwi dance aesthetics", *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 35 (2003), p. 173-178.

71 J.M. Chernoff, *African rhythm and African sensibility. Aesthetics and social action in African musical idioms*, Chicago, 1979, p. 202-203, n. 32, p. 206, n. 61.

72 For instance the grumbling by Dikaioi Logos in Aristophanes, *Nubes*, 985-989. "Those who have given up the true way of practising this dance and have introduced their own style which is without origin", as it is beautifully put in the *Chams Yig*, a 17th-century text on dancing written by the fifth Dalai Lama; see R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Tibetan religious dances. Tibetan text and annotated translation of the "chams yig"*, The Hague, 1976, p. 40a (translation on p. 243); cf. p. 39b. One could also quote modern-day dance ethnologists who refuse to do research into 'degenerate' forms of dancing.

73 On authenticity, see F.G. Naerebout, "Whose dance? Questions of authenticity and ethnicity, of preservation and renewal", in A. Raftis (ed.), *Dance beyond frontiers. Proceedings of the 8th international conference on dance research, Drama 1994*, Athens, 1994, p. 77-86, and *id.*, "'Nice dance! But is it authentic?' What actually is this authenticity that everybody is going on about?", in A. Raftis (ed.), *Dance as intangible heritage. Proceedings of the 16th international congress on dance research, Corfu 2002*, Athens, 2002, p. 125-138. I am much indebted to R. Taruskin, "The pastness of the present and the presence of the past", in N. Kenyon (ed.), *Authenticity and early music. A symposium*, Oxford, 1989, p. 137-207, and R. Bendix, *In search of authenticity. The formation of folklore studies*, Madison, 1997.

74 Chernoff, o.c. (n. 71), p. 203, n. 32: "(dances) remain basically the same (but) are transformed from generation to generation".

75 Quoted by P. Burke, *Popular culture in early modern Europe*, London, 1978, p. 115. Cf. E. Shils, "Tradition", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13 (1971), p. 122-159.

76 See Chernoff, o.c. (n. 71).

77 See Burke, o.c. (n. 75), p. 124 sq., on its important role in folk poetry. A.J.F. Köbben, "Opportunism in religious behaviour", in W.E.a. van Beek, J.H. Scherer (eds), *Explorations in the anthropology of religion. Festschrift J. van Baal*, The Hague, 1975, p. 46-54, gives several examples of more or less institutionalized rule-breaking.

78 In this context, I find it rather painful that, despite the most welcome praise on p. 8 n. 17, Murray – Wilson, o.c. (n. 12) misquote the title of my *Attractive performances: ancient Greek dance*, as *Attractive performances: ancient Greek dances*. A single letter, but a world of difference.

79 Previously, I have lauded as the start of modern dance anthropology E.E. Evans-Pritchard, "The dance", *Africa* 1 (1928), p. 446-462. I still find it uniquely impressive, but I have neglected A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, who already gave much attention to dance in his *The Andaman Islanders* of 1922. Other pioneers – not always up to Evans-Pritchard's standard – were Beryl De Zoete, Gerardus van der Leeuw, Jean Belo, Franziska Boas, Geoffrey Bateson, Margaret Mead and Theo van Baaren. G.P. Kurath, "Panorama of dance ethnology", *Current Anthropology* 1 (1960), p. 233-254, was the first to gather the scattered material to date and thus put the discipline of dance research on the map. More recent overviews are provided by A.L. Kaeppler, "Dance in anthropological perspective", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 7 (1978), p. 31-49, J.L. Hanna, "Movements toward understanding humans through the anthropological study of dance", *Current Anthropology* 20 (1979), p. 313-339, ead., "Dance", in T.A. Sebeok (ed.), *Encyclopedic dictionary of semiotics*, vol. 1, Berlin, 1986, p. 170-172, A. Seeger, "Music and dance", in T. Ingold (ed.), *Companion encyclopedia of anthropology*, London, 1994, p. 686-705, Reed, L.c. (n. 13), and A.L. Kaeppler, "Dance ethnology and the anthropology of dance", *Dance Research Journal* 32 (2000), p. 116-124. For dance ethnology/ethnography, see T.J. Buckland (ed.), *Dance in the field. Theory, methods and issues in dance ethnography*, Basingstoke, 1999. For me, J.L. Hanna, *To dance is human. A theory of nonverbal communication*, Austin, 1979, remains one of the most important fruits of dance anthropology.

80 On the difference between dance ethnologists and dance anthropologists, see A.L. Kaeppler, "The mystique of field work", in Buckland (ed.), o.c. (n. 79), p. 13-25, who points out that ethnologists study the dance in order to get at the dance itself, while anthropologists study the dance in order better to understand society.

81 H.S. Versnel, "Discussion", in J. Rudhardt, O. Reverdin (eds), *Le sacrifice dans l'Antiquité*, Vandoeuvres/Genève, 1981, p. 189.

82 K. Latte, *De saltationibus graecorum capita quinque*, Giessen, 1913; C. Calame, *Les chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque*, 2 vols, Rome, 1977, the first volume translated as *Choruses of young women in ancient Greece. Their morphology, religious role, and social functions*, London, 1997.

83 S.H. Lonsdale, *Dance and ritual play in Greek religion*, Baltimore, 1993 (whose work, understandably, seems to force out L.B. Lawler, *The dance in ancient Greece*, London, 1964, as a standard text; however, Lonsdale's work has serious flaws: see my review

in *Mnemosyne* 49 (1996), p. 366-369, and, very critical, the review by D. Sansone, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 5.3 (1994), p. 230-233); M. Vesterinen, "Communicative aspects of ancient Greek dance", *Arctos* 31 (1997), p. 175-187; P. Ceccarelli, *La pirrica nell'antichità greco-romana. Studi sulla danza armata*, Pisa/Rome, 1998; A. Bierl, *Der Chor in der Allen Komödie. Ritual und Performativität*, Munich/Leipzig, 2001, the most adventurous and incisive contribution. But maybe the best example is a recent study of prehistoric dancing: Y. Garfinkel, *Dancing at the dawn of agriculture*, Austin, 2003 (a great collection of material, moreover well-read in dance scholarship, but alas not very strong interpretatively). Cf. also n. 20 above.

84 Henrichs, o.c. (n. 16). See also H. Golder, S. Scully (eds), *The chorus in Greek tragedy and culture I-II* = special issues of *Arion* 3rd series 3.1 (1994-1995) and 4.1 (1996). Anton Bierl and Paola Ceccarelli took part in the same Harvard workshop on the chorus – led by Henrichs.

85 I leave out all kinds of practicalities, such as some of the boys and girls coming out onto the marriage market. Good comments on this aspect of 'embodiment' in E. Stehle, *Performance and gender in ancient Greece. Nondramatic poetry in its setting*, Princeton, 1997, p. 71; Stehle has much that is worthwhile on performance.

86 Attractions are discussed at length in Naerebout, o.c. (n. 6), p. 344-375. For restrictions on access, see *id.*, "Na kaas een dagje wachten. Territorialiteit in de Griekse religie", *Lampas* (2004), p. 36-52, and *id.*, "Territorialität und griechische Religion: Die aufgeteilte Landschaft", in E. Olshausen, H. Sonnabend (eds), *Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur historischen Geographie des Altertums 2005*, forthcoming.

87 The idea of necessary mobilization is taken from supply side economics, rational choice theory in particular. On rational choice theory, see R.V. Gould (ed.), *The rational choice controversy in historical sociology*, Chicago, 2001. For rational choice theory applied to the history of religion, see the work of Rodney Stark *et al.* (references in Naerebout, o.c. (n. 6), p. 316-317; add R. Stark, "Rationality", in W. Braun, R.T. McCutcheon (eds), *Guide to the study of religion*, London, 2000, p. 239-258). See now: S. Bruce, *Choice and religion: a critique of rational choice theory*, Oxford, 1999 – I think his criticism can be met, because Bruce focuses on the messages, while the medium is just as important: dance for instance. The only historian to systematically have paid attention to 'drawing crowds' (the title of one of his paragraphs) is R. MacMullen in his *Paganism in the Roman Empire*, New Haven, 1981.

88 Naerebout, o.c. (n. 6), p. 375-406.

89 I lean heavily upon my mentor H.S. Versnel, *Ter unus. Isis, Dionysos, Hermes: three studies in henotheism = Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman religion* 1, Leiden, 1990, p. 1-35. Cf. another of my heroes, R. MacMullen, *Changes in the Roman Empire. Essays in ordinary*, Princeton, 1990, p. 12: "Nothing is true that leaves out untidiness".

90 Communication need not consist of new messages – versus the oft-quoted opinion of M. Bloch, "Symbols, song, dance and features of articulation; is religion an extreme form of traditional authority?", *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 15 (1974), p. 55-81, to the effect that ritualization entails diminishing communicative

potential. One can tell one's favourite story a thousand times, with changing or unchanging purpose, and to different or identical effect. There may be less information (as used in information theory, i.e. previously unknown items), but no less message and meaning.

91 C. Geertz, "Deep play: notes on the Balinese cockfight", in *id.*, *The interpretation of cultures. Selected essays*, New York, 1973, p. 412-453, quote from p. 448. B. Kowalzig, "Changing choral worlds: song-dance and society in Athens and beyond", in Murray – Wilson (eds), *o.c.* (n. 12), p. 39-65, is very strong: "A community's [i.e. a *polis*] existence and identity were based on its choral rituals". She might be right, however, in stating that choral ritual should be seen as the communicative performance *par excellence*.

92 Cf. the introduction and several articles in R. Schechner, W. Appel (eds), *By means of performance. Intercultural studies of theatre and ritual*, Cambridge, 1990, discussing 'flow', 'presence', 'concentration', concepts used to describe spectators being 'drawn in'.

93 F.G. Naerebout, "Spending energy as an important part of ancient Greek religious behaviour", forthcoming in the proceedings of the international conference on the ancient Mediterranean world, Tokyo, 2004, to be published as a special issue of *Kodai*. To the material there, focussing on athletic *agones*, add Pindar, fr. 86a S.-M.: "sacrificing a dithyramb", and Pindar, *Nemea* III, 10-14 and VIII, 13-16, referring to song and performance as *agalma*, or *Pythia* VIII, 25-32, using *anathithemi* in the context of song.

94 Plato, *Leges*, 653c-671a; 700a-701b; 798d-802e.

95 See above all R. MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire (A.D. 100-400)*, New Haven, 1984, and *id.*, *Christianity and paganism in the fourth to eighth centuries*, New Haven, 1997; MacMullen is unique in his attentiveness to music and dance. Cf. J.W. McKinnon (ed.), *Music in early Christian literature*, Cambridge, 1987; H. Jurgens, *Pompa diaboli. Die lateinischen Kirchenväter und das antike Theater*, Stuttgart, 1972; D. Dox, *The idea of the theatre in Christian thought: Augustine to the fourteenth century*, Ann Arbor, 2004. On dance cf. n. 18 *supra*.

96 As said above, there is as yet no such map, but of course we already have several contributions towards such a map. A recent example is E. Pemberton, "Wine, women and song: gender roles in Corinthian cult", *Kernos* 13 (2000), p. 85-106, an interesting if sometimes rather speculative attempt to contextualize padded dancers and women's chain dances, which can be contrasted fruitfully to the very different work by Smith, *l.c.* (n. 37). I find the two approaches complementary (as Smith seems to do): the generalizing and contextualizing efforts should go together. Other fresh and refreshing examples of contextualizing in Ceccarelli, *o.c.* (n. 83), and, brilliantly so, in Wilson, *o.c.* (n. 20).

97 In hypotheses 3-5, again a rational choice approach, cf. n. 87 *supra*.

Greek Sanctuaries as Places of Communication through Rituals: An Archaeological Perspective

Joannis Mylonopoulos

1

In the year 479 BC, shortly before the decisive battle of Plataiai, the Greek and Persian armies were occupying the southern and the northern banks of the Asopos, respectively, and were preparing for the impending battle. An absolutely necessary part of the preparations consisted of the sacrifices and the prophecies to be made in this connection by the seers. Mardonios, the commander of the Persians, would have liked to cross the river and attack the Greeks, but the sacrifices which he had carried out in the Greek manner (ἐλληνικοῖσι ἱροῖσι ἔχρᾱτο) showed unfavourable omens for his intention (οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρά). The sacrifices on the part of the Greeks led to similar results. For ten days the sacrifices were repeated, but the results remained negative, despite the sacrifices having been carried out correctly. On the eleventh day Mardonios decided to ignore the prophecies and attack the Greek army, a decision which was to have the well-known disastrous consequences for the Persian army.

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About 80 years later, the Greek mercenary army under the leadership of Xenophon was confronted with a similar situation near the Pontic harbour town of Kalpe. At that time it had already been decided that the army should continue by land, as there were no ships available. In order to give to the continuation of their march religious legitimacy, sacrifices were carried out; these proved unfavourable, however

(θυομένους δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐφόδῳ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά). The situation was a precarious one for the Greeks; they lacked the necessary provisions for a longer stay. Sacrifices were repeated over a period of three days, without the prophecies for the march being improved. Neon, a young commander, then decided to go into the surrounding countryside with 2000 men and commandeer provisions in the villages, despite the unfavourable omens. These men were thereupon attacked by Persians and Bithynians; 500 Greeks were killed.

2

Not until the fourth day, and following a favourable sacrifice (γίγνεται τὰ ἱερά), which was in addition accompanied by a lucky omen (αἰετον αἴσιον), did the Greeks march off.

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3

In neither of the examples is there any mention, in any of the relevant sources, of an error in ritual which could have led to the unfavourable results of the sacrifices and predictions. The communication between the human and the divine spheres miscarried without any doubt, which makes clear that successful rituals were more than just rituals correctly carried out. A necessary prerequisite for a ritual to be characterised as successful was, apparently, successful communication.

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4

Greek rituals, even those belonging more to the scope of magic, aimed at creating a communication link at different levels. By means of ritual sacrifices, man created a pathway of contact to the divine, through the subsequent communal meal, the common identity of the community was confirmed.

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Via the act of dedication, several levels were addressed at once: man attempted to reach the gods, but also addressed other mortals by means of the dedicatory gift, and, in a further step, placed just this dedicatory gift in an interactive context, frequently a competitive one, with other, earlier dedicatory gifts. Sacred actions (δρώμενα) attained the desired communication through increased performance; the connection was not created by an active interaction on the part of both communicating partners, but rather by an almost theatrical communication, immanent within the very act and proceeding from

above downward. Finally, processions, with their strongly performative aspects, created communication between sacred spaces, by which means a ritual topography was constituted.

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In the following, the areas of Greek ritual practice mentioned above are to be more closely investigated with regard to their communicative possibilities, for the most part through a discussion of archaeological remains.

The sacrifice and the sacrificial meal: Ritual communication and the construction of identity

6

Sacrificial rituals, in particular animal sacrifices, occupy a central position in Greek ritual practice. The significance of the blood sacrifice for understanding Greek religion was recognised by researchers early on and explained through varying methodological approaches. In this, two main directions can be seen: the structuralist approach, which looks at the sacrificial ritual and its significance as part of a system of symbols, and the evolutionist approach, which asks questions about its origin and uses *inter alia* ethnology or even psychology.

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Another direction, that of functionalism, investigates ritual action with particular regard to its meaning for, and effect within, society.

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Literary and epigraphic sources – especially cult laws – and imagery form the sources which give us valuable information on the regulations, course, and appearance of the participants or the cult paraphernalia used; but these sources do not even attempt to make the sacrificial happenings intellectually comprehensible. In ancient Greece there was no theoretically based need for explanation in connection with sacrificial rituals, despite a marked preference for discussing everything otherwise; the abstract religious ideas behind the complicated rituals are not explained in any detail at all.

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In daily cult life as described in most sources we meet instead with aitiological myths, which serve as explanations for the origins of the different rituals and frequently leave no room for abstraction.

8

The majority of sacrifices, as they have been transmitted to us, follows a typical scheme, according to which the sacrificial animal lets itself be led willingly to the altar, has water and barleycorns thrown at it, gives its permission for the killing to follow and is then slaughtered. After this the offal (σπλάγγνα) is arranged on spits, roasted at the altar and eaten. The participants in the sacrifice are permitted to consume the flesh, while the divinity received the ankle bones, the tail and the fat. F. van Straten and K.W. Berger rightly recognised that the odd looking objects on the altar in the numerous depictions of sacrifices are just these animal parts, intended for the divinity.

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Precise osteological examinations of the bony remains in some sanctuaries, among them the sanctuary on the Aseatian mountain of Agios Elias,

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the Theban Kabirion,

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the Heraion of Samos,

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and the Artemision of Ephesos,

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have confirmed the literary and iconographic sources. In older excavations often just the type of sacrificial animal, rather than the exact bodily parts, was determined.

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The communicative function of the Greek sacrificial ritual

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emerges already in the preparatory phase, for here the collective gathered for a festive procession in order to lead the sacrificial animals to the altar. Although the general statement made by F. Bömer to the effect that there were no 'hard and fast rules'

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with regard to the sequence of participants in the procession is true in its generality – there were quite certainly no universally valid rules

for setting up a sacrificial procession –, it may be assumed that each sacrificial procession was constructed according to its own inner logic. Interestingly, literary and epigraphical sources, as well as depictions on Attic black figure vases of the 6th c. BC,

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show that such sacrificial processions took place in an orderly manner, in which specific groups were to appear as subunits of the complete procession. According to Thucydides, Hipparchos was murdered just as he was attempting to arrange the Panathenaic procession.

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The great inscription from Messenian Andania contains a section that exactly prescribes the arrangement of the sacrificial procession and also names the leader of it; the existence of a γυναικονόμος, was even planned, who was to supervise the clothing worn by and very probably the arrangement within the women's group.

19

The privilege, documented in inscriptions, of the προπομπεία shows that the first position within a sacrificial procession was often an important part of the internal organisation of processions; it may refer, in fact, to the role of the leader of the procession.

10

In this context the detailed depiction of a sacrificial procession on an Attic black figure band cup of the mid-6th century in the Niarchos Collection in Paris (*fig. 1*) is particularly informative. At the far left, Athena is shown in the type of the Promachos, although it is not clear whether this is supposed to be a statue or an epiphany of the goddess. Directly in front of the divinity is a female figure, unanimously interpreted as a priestess, and an altar, on which a fire is already burning. Towards this group the many-figured procession is moving, led by a bearded male figure. One detail appears interesting here, which illustrates the communication between the divine and human levels by gesture, for the leader of the procession is greeted with a handshake by the priestess, the representative of the divinity and guardian of the sanctuary, and led into the sacral area. Behind the leader of the procession there follow the *kanephoros*, the group of altar servants with the sacrificial animals, the musicians, a group of three men in long robes and carrying twigs in their hands, three hoplites and a youthful rider.

The entire procession is striding towards the altar. A single exception between the second and the third hoplite disturbs this image: a single bearded man in a long robe and with a twig in his right hand is looking the other way toward the end of the procession. That he is not simply looking back, but rather has turned his entire body in this direction, is made clear by the direction his legs are taking. This interruption of the image's symmetry is clearly not accidental; we see here, I think, not just any participant in the procession, but the one who is in the process of arranging the concluding part of the procession.

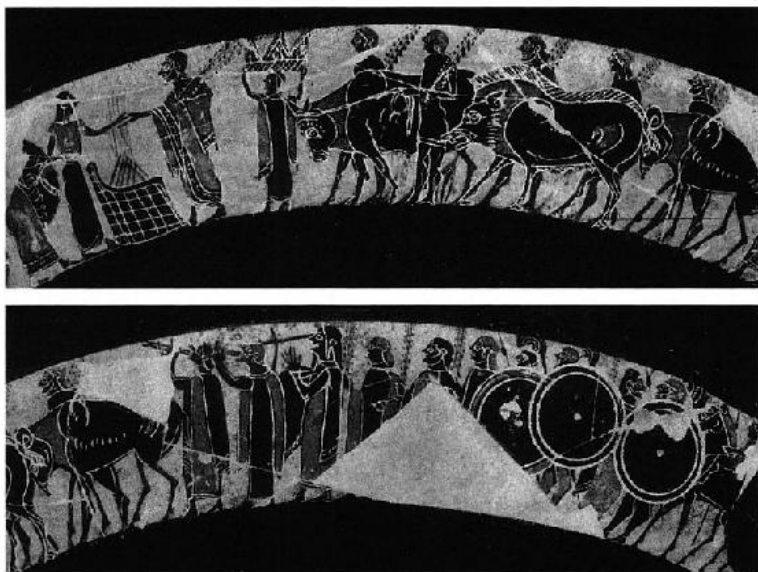


Fig. 1: Attic black figure band cup (ca. 560/50 BC, Niarchos Collection, Paris)

11

The vase depiction mentioned not only has as its subject the communicative interaction between the participants in the procession and the divinity, but also clearly shows the role of the priestess as mediator, who receives the sacrificial procession with the handshake immediately above the altar, and who conjoins the human sphere with the divine. Although the statement that Greek religion was a religion without priests,

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compared to a theocratic system such as the Egyptian, is certainly not wrong *per se*, one should not assume that the office of priest in Greek

religion was merely a routine matter to be taken care of by a state official with more or less mechanical tasks in carrying out rituals.

22

Greek priests and priestesses did not necessarily control the sacral knowledge of cults and rituals, but the entire administration of the places where these sacred actions occurred was in their hands. In this manner they also watched over the communication between men and gods, as mediators.



Fig. 2: Late Corinthian crater (ca. 570 BC, Astarita Collection no. 565, Vatican)

12

In the iconography the mediating role of priests and priestesses receives a gender-specific definition only partially corresponding to everyday ritual practice. Theano, one of the most famous priestesses in Greek mythology, is described in the *Iliad* receiving a procession of Trojan women – led by Hekabe – and opening the door of the sanctuary of Athena to them.

23

On a late Corinthian crater in the Vatican, however, Theano, identified by name in writing, appears as a spinning woman in a

procession of women to receive the Greek ambassadors, thus doing something quite typical for her role as a priestess of Athena: preparing the Peplos of Athena (fig. 2).

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The priestess as the guardian of the temple with a key in her hand, as *kleidouchos*, only becomes a general form of depicting a priestess from the 5th century BC on ward.

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Although priests also fulfilled this function,

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it becomes a main characteristic of priestesses in visual depictions. Priests, on the other hand, are usually attributively declared as such in the images by holding the sacrificial knife.

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The question of whether women were at all permitted to sacrifice has been under discussion for a long time. Women could very probably carry out slaughter of sacrificial animals in a specific ritual context such as the Thesmophoria.

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It would appear that two of the most important communicative tasks of the position of Greek priest, guarding the temple and carrying out the bloody sacrifice, were distributed in the iconography according to gender.

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Priestesses, as guardians of the divine house, took over the more passive task and permitted entry into the sanctuary, which enabled communication to take place to start with. The more active role was then taken on by the priests, who prepared the next level of communication between men and gods by means of the bloody sacrifice.

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For the correct execution of the sacrificial ritual, the communicative interaction between animals and man also seems to have been a necessary prerequisite, since the sacrificial animal was supposed to indicate its 'agreement' to the impending sacrifice. In ancient times there were certain ways of arranging this kind of pseudo-communication. Prior to the sacrifice, the sacrificial animal was sprinkled with water. The animal jerked its head in a natural reaction

to this, and this 'nodding' was then taken to mean 'agreement'. A variant of this method consisted of giving the animal water to drink. The animal's sinking of the head in order to drink could also be interpreted as an 'agreement' to be sacrificed.

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The concluding part of the Greek sacrificial ritual, which reached its culmination in the spilling of blood on the altar, consisted of the communal feast, at which the communicative climax took place, as the members of the sacrificial community communicated most intensively with each other during this phase.

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At this point a clear discrepancy between the everyday ritual and the pictorial transmission of the same can be discerned, as in contrast to the numerous depictions of sacrificial processions the depiction of the sacrificial feast are rare.

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The communal feast, however, is implied associatively by the depiction of the splanchnopts, who roast the offal on the fire at the altar for the participants in the sacrifice. These depictions become increasingly frequent from the beginning of the 5th century BC, until they almost become a medial abstraction standing for the entire sacrificial ritual.

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16

In this regard, an Ionic black figure hydria from Cerveteri in the Villa Giulia in Rome (the so-called 'Ricci' hydria, 530/520 BC) forms a welcome exception, for the zone of the vessel's shoulder displays nearly all the phases from the animal sacrifice to the preparation of the communal feast (*fig. 3*).

35

The entire composition, crowned by ivy and grape-vine tendrils, is divided into small groups which do not necessarily have anything to do with each other, so that upon no account can we say that parts of the sacrificial ritual are being depicted here in a chronological sequence. At the far left two men are butchering a dead pig. Directly beside them, a group of three men is attempting to cut open a goat. Between the two groups, the forequarters of a ram and an animal limb on the tendrils indicate the work already done by these

sacrificial servants. The group of persons next to this has a special position within the composition as a whole, for here are the only two clothed men in the entire scene, accompanied by a sacrificial servant. A bearded man in a long robe leads the group; in his right hand he is holding a *kantharos*, while his left hand is raised in a gesture of adoration. Perhaps this is a priest who is just performing a libation.

36

Behind him a young aulos player, also wearing a robe, is seen, and the naked sacrificial servant already mentioned. The musician could perhaps be interpreted as a *spondaulos*.

37

The central part of the total scene is the altar, where three splachnopts are roasting offal on spits over the fire. To the right of this centre group there are two men busy ladling wine from an amphora and pieces of meat out of a large cauldron. What the next two male figures are doing remains uncertain, as their lower arms disappear within a high, but flattish basin. F. van Straten conjectures that the men are kneading dough.

38

Beside them, two men are putting offal on spits. The business of the last two figures also remains unclear, for the object held by the man at the far right cannot be identified. The so-called Ricci hydria does not treat directly of the actual blood sacrifice in this part of its decoration, but rather of the preparation of the communal sacrificial feast with its function of creating identity, so that the animal sacrifice is placed within its proper ritual and (most particularly) social context, and does not appear as an isolated ritual procedure.

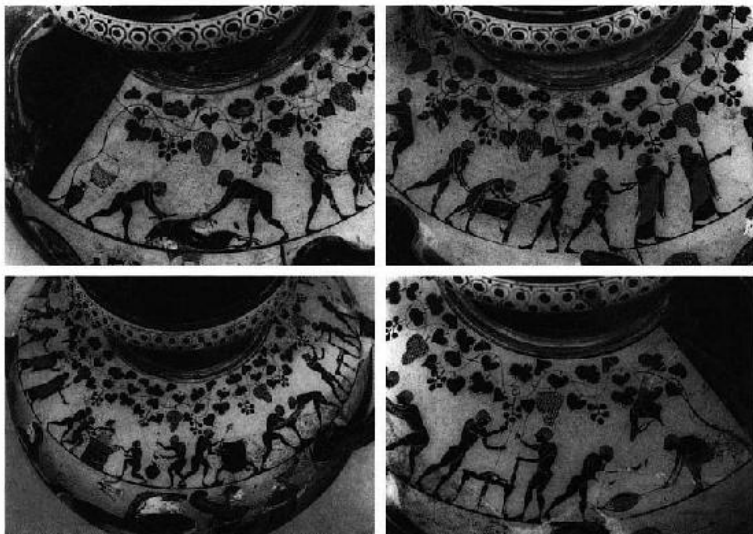


Fig. 3: The so-called Ricci hydria (ca. 530/20 BC, Villa Giulia, Rome)

17

In contrast to the pictorial transmission, sacrificial feasts can be established archaeologically in the rest of the material culture with a fair degree of certainty. Finds from the sanctuary of Poseidon near the Isthmus of Corinth – dishes, drinking vessels, ash, and animal bones – make it clear that the earliest cult activity in the 11th century BC consisted of animal sacrifices and communal meals.

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Comparable findings are also known from other Greek sanctuaries of similarly ancient date, which makes clear that early cult places played the role of central meeting places, in which the communal sacrifice and subsequent feast created a sense of identity for the cult participants, who were topographically scattered among many small settlements, although ethnically homogeneous.

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The significance of the ritual feast can be grasped most clearly in the form of its architectural background, the banqueting hall with its characteristic rooms for setting up couches and tables, which demonstrates the interaction between ritual practice and architecture in a visible manner.

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Frequently the banquet rooms are combined with colonnades. This

combination is the type of building known from inscriptions as the $\sigma\tau\omicron\delta\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\tilde{\iota}\mu\omicron\iota$

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, which occupies a special place in the historical development of the Greek colonnaded hall.

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Among the oldest buildings of this kind are the south Stoa I in the Athenian agora

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and the Π-shaped hall at the sanctuary of Artemis in Attic Brauron.

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The so-called West Building in the Argive Heraion is certainly a banqueting hall consisting of a large peristyle and three banqueting rooms, but its dating remains controversial. The suggestions vary from the late 6th to the late 5th century BC

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If the earlier date is correct, then this Argive building would be the oldest banqueting hall – in the architectural form mentioned – anywhere in a Greek sanctuary. With regard to this type of building, the cult caves in the Isthmian sanctuary of Poseidon

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provide a special architectural feature. These are natural caves, but equipped with couches carved out of the rock, making them into banqueting rooms for the communal feasts of a cult group dedicated to the child hero Melikertes/Palaimon and to Dionysos in the 5th and 4th centuries BC.

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19

The ritual sacrificial meal was one of the phases of the sacrificial ritual, exactly as were the procession or the actual slaughter of the sacrificial animal on the altar. At the sanctuary of Demeter and the Kore on the Akrokorinth the communal meal apparently outshone all other ritual actions at this site, for the architectural design of the cult area is impressively dominated by numerous banqueting rooms (*fig. 4*). For this reason, a closer look at this cult complex is indicated.

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The cult area lies within the city of Corinth, on the north slope of the acropolis, and extends across three artificial terraces. Despite the great significance of the cult complex for Corinth, and the fact that Pausanias visited it in the 2nd century AD,

the information available from epigraphic or literary sources is extremely scanty. We know of no foundation myths, and the site does not display any special topographical peculiarities which could explain the construction of the sanctuary in such an inaccessible place. Obviously the Corinthians must have believed in the holiness of this site, for reasons unknown to us, for even the smallest building required considerable terracing measures. Perhaps the existence of a spring, known today as the Haji Mustafa, played a role.

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Although the earliest finds date to Mycenaean times, the religious use of the site cannot be confirmed until the mid-8th century BC, when the first small dedications appear.

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An indirect pointer to a cult of Demeter and the Kore in Corinth of the century BC is perhaps given by the date of foundation of the Corinthian colony Syracuse in Sicily in the year 734 BC. As is well-known, Greek colonies generally took over most of the cults of the mother city, and in the case of Syracuse a cult of Demeter and the Kore was already in existence at the time of the second generation of colonists.

51

A deposit in the Corinthian sanctuary, consisting of 49 small votive vases and found on the upper terrace, can be dated to the first half of the 7th century BC. 34 of these vases are *kalathoi*. The extreme popularity of this type of vessel remained until the city of Corinth was destroyed by the Romans. *Kalathoi* must, then, have played a very special role in the rituals honouring Demeter and the Kore.

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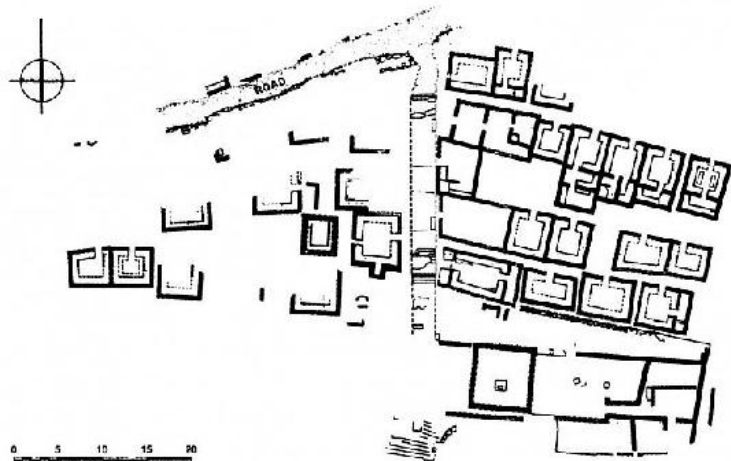


Fig. 4: The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on the Akrokorinth. Plan (ca. 400 BC)

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The earliest architectural remains stem from the first half of the 6th century BC, and are limited to a wall, appearing rather isolated, and the remains of a building with a continuous bench around it, abandoned some time prior to 550 BC. To the west of this there was an open space, that can be interpreted as a place of sacrifice, on the evidence of ash remains and animal bones found there. The bones reveal that piglets were the most frequent sacrifice. Around the mid-6th century BC at the latest an architectural and probably also functional separation of the middle terrace from the lower was carried out, by means of a wall serving simultaneously as a separating and a supporting wall. In the late 6th century BC the lower terrace became the centre of construction activity in the sanctuary. From this point in time onward the lower terrace was the scene of communal feasting. At least 16 small buildings have been excavated, and the excavators assume that more must have existed. These are small, modest units with an entry on the north side and continuous low benches running around them, which gave six to seven people room to lie on them.

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Although it must be assumed that communal meals had taken place prior to this, the finds indicate that the communal meal following the sacrifice attained enormous importance in the course of the waning

6th century, displaying an almost institutional character. However, in contrast to other sanctuaries where all participants dined together, the rituals in the sanctuary of Demeter evidently required meals in smaller groups. No kitchen of any kind was found in any of these small rooms. The excavators think that the course of the ritual will have been as follows: first, small groups sacrificed on the middle terrace and prepared the ritual meal there. Only then did the groups go to the dining areas on the lower terrace, where the actual sacrificial feasting took place. On the middle terrace there are absolutely no indications of sacrificial feasts, whereas no remains of victims or of votive deposits have hitherto been discovered on the lower terrace.

24

In the 5th century BC the sanctuary seems to have gained even more importance. The number of votive offerings increases considerably, and further banqueting rooms were erected. Probably changes in the course of the rituals led to an alteration in the architectural design of the banqueting rooms. These are no longer one-roomed buildings, but buildings with a dining room and auxiliary rooms. Some of these annexes functioned quite certainly as a kind of kitchen for the preparation of the meals, others display installations for ritual washing or a low bench along the wall. Based upon the buildings excavated, one can assume that around 400 BC some 200 participants could dine at the same time on the lower terrace.

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A catastrophic earthquake in the final years of the 4th century BC destroyed all of the banqueting buildings completely. The sanctuary did recover from this destruction very rapidly, however. New and sometimes larger banqueting buildings were erected on the lower terrace, which remained the centre of ritual feasting. Following this extensive rebuilding, the sanctuary remained for the most part unchanged until the destruction of Corinth in 146 BC. It appears that the sanctuary of Demeter was spared the destructive rage of the Romans, in contrast to the city itself. But the cult came suddenly to an end, nevertheless, and the sanctuary was abandoned, as was Corinth, for an entire century. It is not clear exactly when the sanctuary was put into use again following the foundation of the

Roman Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis in the year 44 BC. The Roman coins from the area of the sanctuary make it probable that this happened quite soon after the founding of the colony. During this time, however, both the religious topography of the sanctuary and the character of the cult changed. Communal cult feasting clearly no longer plays a role. Only one of the Hellenistic banqueting halls survived, whose function was changed, however, following building alterations during the Empire. On the upper terrace three small temples with identical floor-plans were built during the second half of the 1st century AD.

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In each case there is a small tetrastyle prostylos with a one-room cella. Very probably the three cult buildings are identical with the temples of Demeter, Kore and the Fates seen by Pausanias in the 2nd century AD.^{rn}

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It is conspicuous that not until this period – after centuries during which the sanctuary had no need of a temple complex – does the altered sociocultural and certainly, too, religious context lead to the construction of the first temples in the Corinthian sanctuary of Demeter and the Kore.

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It cannot be established with any certainty who exactly celebrated the communal sacrificial meal in the banqueting rooms mentioned up to the Hellenistic period, but everything points to women being here by themselves.

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Although the sanctuary lies within the city walls, the area does offer a sort of privacy, which was apparently necessary for practising the cult, dominated by females. This can be observed at other sanctuaries of Demeter in Eretria, Pergamon or Priene too.

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The sanctuaries of Demeter generally show more evidence of frequent use by women, and the finds from the Corinthian sanctuary surely tend in this direction too. Perhaps not until the Roman Empire can one reckon with a stronger male presence, after the disappearance of the banqueting rooms as a constitutive element of the sanctuary. A similar development has been described as probable by Chr. Thomas for the sanctuary of Demeter in Pergamon.

Following the collective experience of the slaughter of the sacrificial victim at the altar and the preparation of the sacrificial feast, as depicted on the so-called Ricci hydria, the communal banquet – whether outdoors or in the banqueting rooms – represents the communicative culmination of the Greek ritual of sacrifice.

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The extraordinary significance of the communal meal on sacred ground is confirmed by cult regulations which explicitly prescribe the consumption of the flesh of sacrificial animals within the boundaries of the sanctuary.

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The common identity of a group was continually reaffirmed anew at the sacrificial feast. Women, as at the sanctuary of Demeter in Corinth, strengthened their specific sexual identity and significance, by means of the exclusion of the male sphere; this was achieved by ignoring social norms and boundaries among other things, without any consequences.

62

A cult group, kept small, such as the participants in the meals of the combined cults of Melikertes/Palaimon and Dionysos in Isthmia, emphasised its exclusiveness and thus its special position. But also in the case of a larger circle of participants taking part in a sacrificial meal as a collective, the identity of the group was confirmed by the exclusion of strictly defined outsiders, for nothing serves better to define a self-image than comparison with and exclusion of the ξένοι. In this regard the epigraphic and literary testimonies are interesting, which document an exclusion of groups understood as ‘the others’ (women, men, slaves, foreigners, the non-initiated) – sometimes even ethnically legitimised.

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Regulations of this kind make Greek cult practice appear to often – though not always

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– be a very exclusive matter until the Hellenistic period; the inside view of the matter with regard to the group of cult participants should, however, be considered as a necessary parameter for the creation of identity.

Votive offerings: piety and communicative competition

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Visiting a sanctuary generally meant the dedication of a votive object, the form of which was by no means prescribed in any way.

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Greek votive offerings display a diversity that comprises everything from offerings made of perishable materials such as wood or textiles through simple statuettes of clay, marble or bronze statues even, to entire buildings.

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To represent the offerer's own piety in some durable form was the primary purpose. Dedications, in addition, were a polyvalent medium for displaying wealth and political power and, by means of the subtlety of the symbolic content, a versatile instrument of communication.

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Gifts and presents for hosts seem to have functioned in a similar way in the ancient world.

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The dedicator – an individual or a collective – instigated a communicative process with the dedication, a process comprising an interaction that unfolded on various levels of existence and time. One communicated with the gods, but also with one's fellows, reference was made to the past, present and future. The character, too, of this interaction could vary: mediative in the dealings with the divine sphere, usually competitive on the human level. A dedication appealed to the visual senses through its formal structure and its external form, while it appealed to the linguistic-cognitive abilities through the inscriptions accompanying it.

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The wealth of votive offerings in a sanctuary not only bears witness to the significance of the divinity there honoured, but in addition to the greatness of the supervising community. The Athenian acropolis in the second half of the 5th century BC must have appeared to be the

omnipresent proof of Athens' position in the Greek world. The inventory lists that have been preserved give us an impression of the numerous votive gifts of precious metals, which certainly must have formed an important part of the image of the acropolis and its effect on the Athenians and foreign visitors, and which Thukydides also sees fit to mention.

70

The Peloponnesian War changed this image once and for all: the countless cult vessels of gold and silver (*pompeia*) which were carried along in the Panathenaic procession, found their way into the smelting ovens, and of the eight known statues of Nike in gold, only one survived the confusion of war.

71

In the course of the 4th century BC, particularly under Lycourgos, the majority of these objects were, however, replaced. As T. Linders was able to show so convincingly, Lycourgos did not act solely on grounds of piety; the Athenian politician was obviously strongly oriented towards the glorious period of Athenian history under Pericles and attempted to propagate power by means of the specific demonstration of wealth, although no power was there.

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The new votive offerings of gold and silver were thus used as a medium of communication, in order to strengthen the shaken feeling of identity among the Athenians and to define it anew in the age of Alexander, while they were intended to evoke the impression of a power based on wealth on non-Athenians. At the same time, virtual communication between the Athens of Lycourgos and that of Pericles took place by means of the recollection of the time before the Peloponnesian War, a communication which was supposed to declare an apparently unbroken tradition as reality.

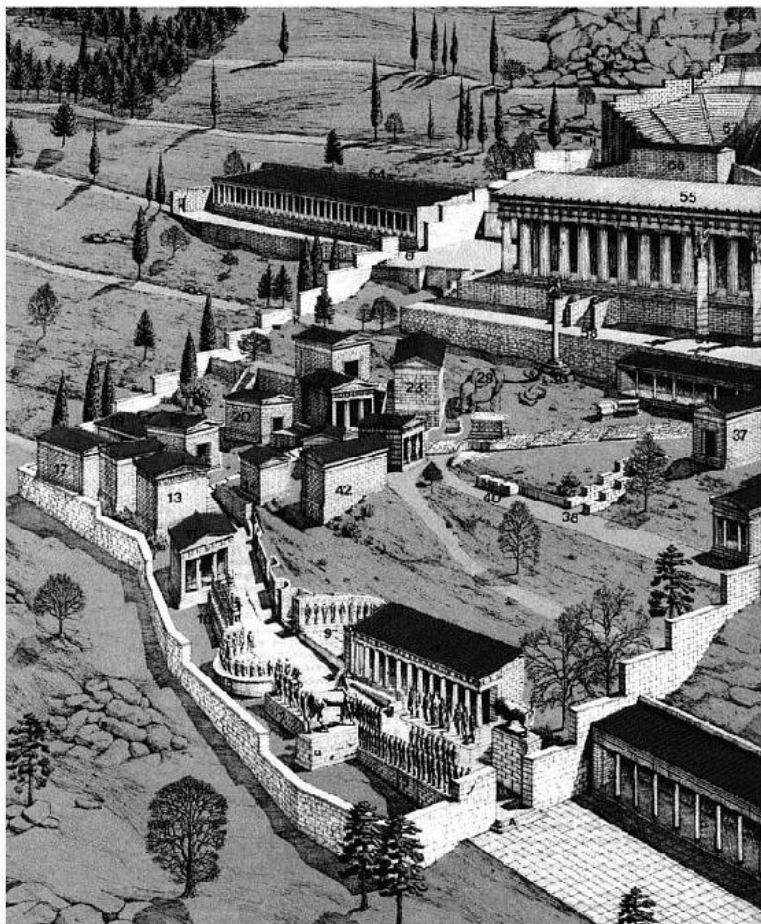


Fig. 5: Reconstruction of the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. Detail

31

In the microcosm of a Greek sanctuary countless votive gifts seem to have competed with each other for attention. Cult sanctuaries as places of competitive communication with the help of votive objects crystallised during the course of the 8th century BC, after replacing tombs as sacred places for the deposition of valuables as well as for the demonstration of wealth and power.

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From this point onward there was a downright ‘war of monuments’ in the sanctuaries of the Greek world, as S. Hansen has put it.

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In this ‘war’ the connection between image and language created the desired communication between the votive offering and the observer quickly and efficiently. Especially the early Greek votive epigrams,

which, in contrast to the dedicatory inscriptions, do not yet contain the formula 'he/she has dedicated this to the god X' treating the offering strictly as an object; rather, they clearly personalise the votive object – 'he/she has dedicated me to the god X', or 'I am the dedication of X' – and thus let it communicate with the visitor. These epigrams give us an impressive idea of the communicative possibilities of Greek votive gifts. J.W. Day was able to show that early Greek epigrams actually invited the visitor in a sanctuary to read the text out loud and thus to interact directly with the dedication, by this means repeating the original ritual of dedication of the votive object.

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Later dedicatory inscriptions have hardly any interactive character; instead, they inform the visitors about the one dedicating or the reason for the dedication, among other things. The visitor is thus no longer an actor, but rather a passive recipient of a written communication.

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A quasi 'aggressive' form of communication is documented by the dedications in Greek sanctuaries following wars. These *anathemata* primarily express the gratitude of the victor to the assumedly helpful divinity, of course, but they are at the same time a demonstration of the victor's might on the one hand, and a durable reminder of the shame of the vanquished on the other.

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The forms of dedication following wars are manifold and include, among other things, statues or even smaller buildings.

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A directly associative votive offering is represented by captured weapons, for these imply the lost existence of the opponent killed, and they present the raw, unfiltered violence of battle – in contrast to a statue of Nike. Any sanctuary could become a recipient of dedicated weapons; however, the Panhellenic sanctuaries occupy a special position in this regard.

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Especially in Olympia, Delphi and Isthmia, dedications of captured weapons from internal Greek wars were particularly popular in the 6th century BC. During the 5th century BC a change of mentality becomes noticeable, which can be archaeologically detected first in Isthmia: no dedications of weapons can be established in the

sanctuary of Poseidon after 470/460 BC.

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A similar situation appears to obtain in Olympia in the period around 440 BC. With regard to Olympia, P. Siewert has even conjectured the existence of cult regulations forbidding the consecration of captured weapons.

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The situation in Delphi is different, for in the hall of the Athenians, according to Pausanias, dedicated weapons captured in the battles of the Peloponnesian War were on display.

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In a comparative study of votive practices in Delphi and Olympia, F. Felten has established that 'all Greeks could express themselves as they wished' in the sanctuary of Apollon, whereas in the sanctuary of Zeus (and, in this sense, in the sanctuary of Poseidon too) 'an idea uniting all Greeks' was to be realised.

82

In accordance with these developments, the communicative, but very direct and revealing possibilities of the dedication of weapons were either excluded perhaps by means of prohibition (Olympia, Isthmia) or continued to be applied by permitting the display of captured weapons (Delphi).

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Dedications are, however, not just a medium for interaction between the dedicator and the divinity or the dedicator and the observer; they also communicate more subtly and more effectively as a result, sometimes competing greatly with each other. The positioning of larger votive offerings in a sanctuary was never accidental, so that the original position of a votive gift, if known, frequently contributes to a better understanding of it. The great monuments of victory at Delphi make it clear that they refer to one another and compete with each other.

83

It can hardly be a coincidence that, at the south-eastern entrance to the sanctuary, in direct contiguity to the Athenian monument to Marathon, the great Spartan Nauarchoi-Monument (also known as the Lysander Votive Monument) was built to commemorate the total victory of the Spartans over the Athenians at Aigospotamoi in the year 405 BC. The Spartan votive offering enters into rivalising

communication with the Athenian monument near it. Through the ritual of dedication and with the help of visual communication the Spartans, it seems, wished to quite consciously further the ideal and symbolic destruction of their hated opponents and of their glorious past. About 40 years later, the Arcadian Federation imitated the Lacedaimonians. Following the succesful campaign against Sparta which had been prosecuted by the Arcadians together with the Thebans of Epameinon-das in the winter of 370/369 BC, the Arcadians consecrated a row of statues directly opposite to the Spartan monument, intended to immortalise just this success (*fig. 5, cf. supra*, p. 86).

84

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Spatial contiguity was not always necessary for the communicative interaction between votive gifts, as is shown by the example of the Nike of Paionios in Olympia, which was consecrated to Zeus by the Messenians and the Naupactians following their victory over the Spartans at Sphakteria in the year 425 BC. As T. Hölscher has made clear, the Nike of Paionios is a retort to the golden shield dedicated by the Spartans and their allies after the battle of Tanagra in 457 BC, and which served as the ridge akroterion of the temple of Zeus. The Spartans for their part answered this provocation by dedicating two victory monuments in their own sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos on the Acropolis of Sparta following the victories of Ephesos and Aigospotamoi, monuments which probably took over the motifs of the Nike of Paionios.

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Space and time do not seem to have been of importance for this 'war of images'.

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Those dedicating interact with one another with their votive offerings not only in a competitive manner. Frequently the attempt was quite consciously made to create a connection in content to a previous donor with the help of a dedication, and in this way to present oneself as the successor in ideals. This type of procedure can be observed in the dedication of buildings by Attalos I at the sanctuary of Apollon in Delphi (*fig. 6*).

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The Pergamean complex is located at the east side of the sanctuary and, in its present state of preservation, consists of a simple Doric hall, a long foundation in front of this, the interpretation of which is problematic,

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a minor building in the south-east and two column monuments. H.-J. Schalles has pointed out, in exemplary fashion, the manifold connections in content of the Attalid foundation with older dedications that refer to the glorious struggles of the Greeks against the Persians and Galatians, among others the hall of the Athenians, the captured shields of Persians and Galatians at the temple of Apollon, and the great hall of the Aitolians.

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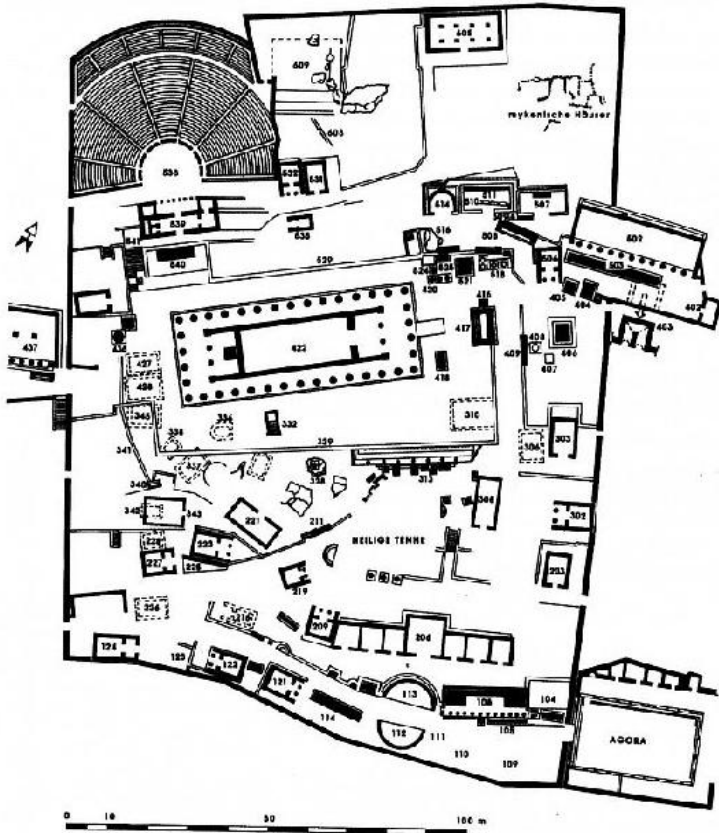


Fig. 6: The sanctuary of Apollon at Delphi. Plan

At the same time, the complex was located close to the area dedicated

in honour of the hero Pyrrhos-Neoptolemos, the father of the eponym of Pergamon and ancestor of the Attalid dynasty. By means of a subtle communication between the Attalid votive offering to Apollon and older, symbolically important and prestigious votive gifts, the Pergameans could present themselves as the legitimate successors to the Athenians and Aitolians in defending Greek culture against the barbarians. The spatial interaction with the area of Pyrrhus-Neoptolemos, too, contributed to the support of the Pergamean intention, since the hero, according to mythology, had fought on the side of the Aitolians against the Galatians.

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A leap in the communicative uses of votive offerings is represented by the so-called votive offering of the Ptolemies in Olympia, which was dedicated by the Nauarchos Kallikrates of Samos to Zeus Olympios in honour of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II. The monument is located directly before the Hall of Echoes and consisted of a 20 m long bathron with one Ionic column at each end and an exedra in the middle. The columns originally carried bronze statues of those honoured.

90

The statues are a conscious reference to the southeastern corner column of the temple of Hera and the northeastern one of the temple of Zeus (*fig. 7*). By means of the spatial and visual communication between the statues and the temples, a connection in content between the divine and the royal sibling spouses was created,

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which may have been meant to imply divinity or quasi-divinity of the Ptolemaic couple already during their lifetimes.

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Greek votive offerings and the ritual act of dedication were more than just a means to express one's own piety through a material form of honouring. With the aid of the visual and the linguistic-cognitive levels of communication they created subtle forms of interaction with the divinity, the observer

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and, most particularly, with past and current dedications. No votive offering contained just one message, nor had just one purpose; depending upon the level of education and interest and upon the

origins of the visitor, the communicative exchange between votive offering and observer was altered too. It is enough, perhaps, to imagine what kind of impression the innumerable statues of the Korai on the Athenian acropolis, with their grace and especially their colourfulness, must have made on the visitors to the sanctuary. They were quite certainly not only addressed to Athena, but rivalled to each other and referred to each other. The question of the exact naming of those depicted is unimportant, for whether these were depictions of Athena

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or of brides-to-be,

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the purpose of pleasing the divinity and, rather more importantly, of representing the dedicators worthily in this 'war of images', was certainly fulfilled by each and every Kore.

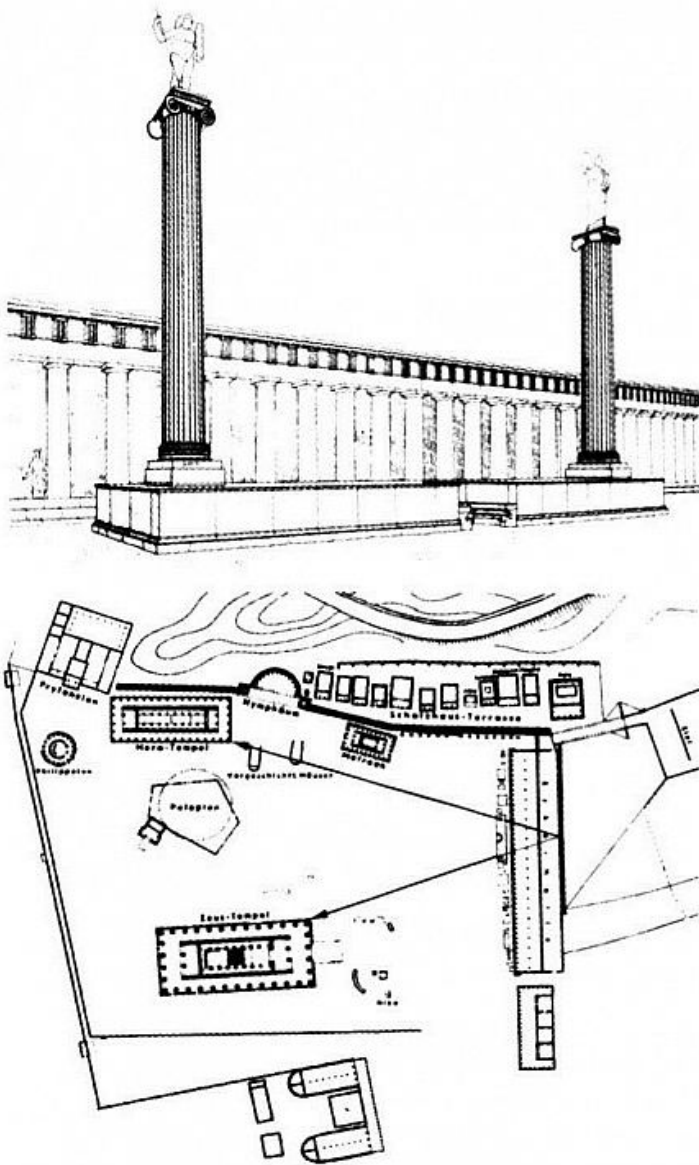


Fig. 7: The Ptolemaean votive offering at Olympia

Δρώμενα: ritual performance and communication

human and divine levels, which is oriented towards action and practice and not necessarily toward reflection.

95

It is thus not particularly surprising that the performative aspect of ritual possessed an enormous significance. Many cult regulations establish, for instance, the correct clothing to be worn by the cult participants and limit the wearing of jewellery by women, prescribe the exact ornamentation of the sacrificial animals, or organise the course of processions.

96

Behind all this there is the intention of heightening the impression of the ritual actions, especially their audiovisual experientiality, on the passive or active cult participants, for religious 'action' by no means signifies exclusively active participation, but also comprises passive listening to a message, as in the case of the oral revelation of the ἀπόρρητα in the mystery cults or the viewing of a ritual action in the sense of a cult 'play',

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as in the case of the Δρώμενα in the framework of the τελεταί in the cult of Demeter

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or the choral presentations in various cults (Apollon, Artemis, Hera etc.)-

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Participation in ritual procedures by observation, their visual absorption by the spectator, is becoming more and more a central point of research.

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The interaction between the actors and audience in Attic tragedy has been placed in its religious context and explained by D. Wiles.

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Apart from literary sources, which, owing to their nature, at least provide us with a descriptive idea of the total audiovisual effect of ritual actions, ancient pictorial representations,

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but also architectural remains, allow a rather 'haptic' experience of the visual in religion. Already the first vase painter known to us in Greek antiquity, Sophilos,

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analysed, in his imagery, the participant in ritual as a spectator. On a fragmentarily preserved dinos in the National Museum at Athens (Inv. n° 15499) from around 580/70 BC the funerary games in honour of Patroklos provide the subject and are identified as such by a caption. This is an excellent example of the combination of word and image to enable a better understanding and immediate recognition of mythical episodes. An interesting detail is the reproduction of a spectator's stand with several seated men, among whom some are depicted with raised arms, showing their especial emotional participation (*fig. 8*). The spectators are, of course, not active participants in the funerary games, but have nevertheless become a part of the ritual actions

104

in honour of Patroklos through their very presence, and particularly through the visual experience of this ritual: participation in the cult by means of sight.

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The stand on the dinos of Sophilos is clearly a matter of provisional seating made of wood, such as we know of in early Greek theatres. For understandable reasons, ephemeral constructions of this kind have not been preserved; their existence can be deduced from postholes. Thus, as far as can be established, provisional stands of this type existed along the Panathenaic Way. The ancient orchestra for playing the dramatic *agon* in honour of Dionysos, prior to the erection of the Theatre of Dionysos in Athens, was localised in the northern area of the Agora, in the region between the Altar of the Twelve Gods and the Stoa Poikile, by means of postholes for spectators' stands.

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The theatres or tiered constructions in sanctuaries appear to be much more important for understanding the communicative possibilities of ritual performance, as they do not only have to do with the observation of the ritual procedure at the altar, but are perhaps to be connected even more intensively with the visual experience of myths in a framework of mimetic representation. The architectural forms mentioned have been dealt with recently in the monographs by I. Nielsen and T. Becker, who illuminate the subject from different points of view, and whose statements in my opinion are

Nielsen's interdisciplinary work is holistic in nature and goes further in interpretation, while the purely archaeological thoughts expressed by Becker are much more reliable, although his interpretations make a very guarded impression. In many cases (e.g. the stairways in the Heraion of Argos or the trapezoid stairway in Morgantina) the authors are indeed of two contrary opinions.



Fig. 8: Spectator's stand on a dinos by Sophilos. Drawing (ca. 570 BC, National Museum no. 15499. Athens)

Stairways or tiers can by no means be connected to any particular divinity, although they are especially frequent in sanctuaries of Dionysos. Demeter also appears to have been a divinity in whose cult stairways or tiers for display played an important role. At least three of her most important sanctuaries, in Corinth, in Lykosoura and in Pergamon, possess such stairways. The theatre stairs in the south of the Telesterion in Eleusis is difficult to date; they may have been built in the time of Hadrian. At the Corinthian sanctuary of Demeter and the Kore the rock to the southwest of the cult house in the eastern part of the upper terrace was removed to form a sort of theatre of six tiers (fig. 4). From this point onward the upper terrace also became an important site in the ritual life of the sanctuary. The excavators

assume that at least 85 persons could sit here.

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Compared with the room offered by the banqueting rooms and buildings on the lower terrace, 85 does not seem to be a very large number. If one regards the display tiers in connection with the mysteries (which cannot, however, be proven for the Corinthian sanctuary), then the number can be explained by the character of such ritual actions within the larger framework of the mysteries, which were not intended for the majority of cult participants.

108

In contrast to the excavators, one should assume with Becker that the place for carrying out the mimetic cult actions was directly in front of the tiers, and not on the middle terrace.

109

This would also correspond to the entire layout of the cult complex, which was intended to provide a strict division both spatially and functionally: on the upper terrace the mimetic cult actions took place, quite possibly the representation of myths of Demeter and the Kore; the middle terrace was the location of the sacrifice; and the lower terrace provided the architectural surroundings for the communal meal.

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At the sanctuary of Demeter and Despoina at Lykosoura there is a stairway which is most interesting from the point of view of interpretation (*fig. 9*). The small prostyle temple of the sanctuary is dated to the 2nd century BC. Barely one metre south of the temple is the stairway, consisting of ten completely preserved steps.

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Nielsen assumes that the stairway was meant for spectators watching sacred actions carried out in front of the temple;

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there are, however, indications that the stairway was built before the temple. Furthermore, the spectators on the lower steps of the western part would not have been able to see the area in front of the temple, owing to the temple blocking the view. All indications are that the mimetic cult actions originally took place in the area later covered by the temple.

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Its construction entailed either their abandonment, rebuilding or

partial displacement. The side door in the south wall of the temple indicates, in my opinion, that the ritual actions were extended and took place partly in front of the stairway, partly in the area in front of the temple.

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The mimetic actions, possibly Poseidon's chasing of Demeter – as is known, both divinities took the form of horse

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– and the birth of Despoina, were moved to the area in front of the temple, in the region of the altars. The cult participants would have watched from the north hall. The spectators on the stairway were shown sacred objects, perhaps accompanied by music or recitations. One may possibly assume a procedure on two levels, for the group of participants in the north hall was certainly larger than that on the stairway. Such a visual, cultic and initiatory experience is known from other venues for mysteries, and the concept of *τελετή*, used by Pausanias to describe the ritual actions in the sanctuary of Lykosoura,

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clearly indicates a mystery cult.

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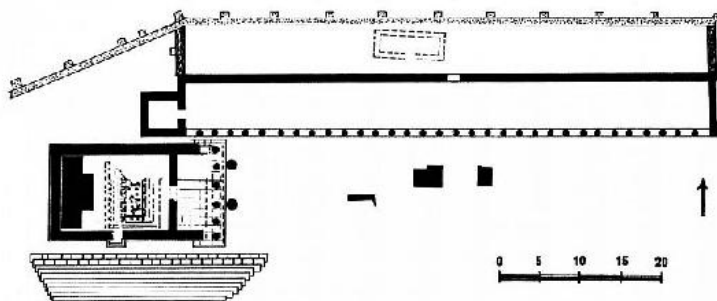


Fig. 9: The sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura. Plan

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A much larger, monumental stairway with a length of nearly 40 m was built in the second third of the 3rd century BC in the Pergamean sanctuary of Demeter (*fig. 10*). The stairway looked out over the eastern half of the central area of the temenos, in whose western half is located the small prostylos. It belongs to the Philetairic extension of the sanctuary, which was, however, very probably only completed under Eumenes I.

117

In a very interesting essay, Chr. Thomas has attempted to reconstruct the functional development of the sanctuary between the Hellenistic period and the Roman Empire, with the aid of the architectural remains and epigraphical evidence. She assumes that the Hellenistic cult complex functioned as the Thesmophorion of the city and was frequented almost exclusively by women.

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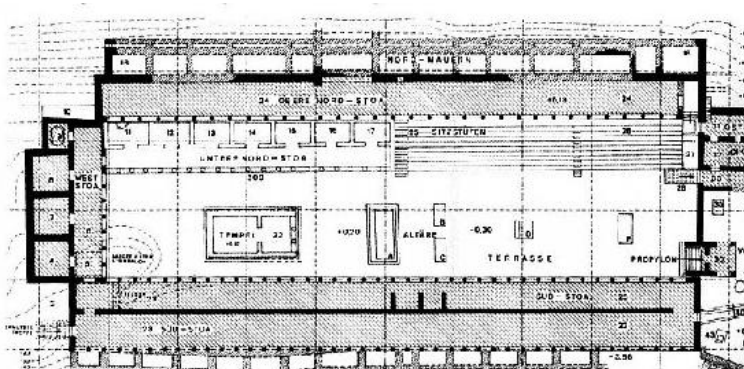


Fig. 10: The sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon. Plan (first half of the 2nd cent. BC)

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In fact the inscriptions preserved from this period do indicate a particularly strong female presence; the dedicatory inscriptions on the architrave of the eastern temple facade and on the east side of the great altar A name Philetairos and Eumenes as founders, but the dedication is for the sake of their mother Boa.

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The building foundation on the part of Queen Apollonis, too, honours Demeter and Kore as Thesmophoroi.

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Not until the Roman Empire, probably in Antonine times, does a male presence becomes dominant, and the dedicatory inscriptions name priestly offices such as *hierophantes* or *dadouchos*, while many of the dedicators call themselves *mystes*.

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The sanctuary was obviously no longer a pure Thesmophorion from this time on, but functioned also as a location for a mystery cult modelled on Eleusis, and thus was increasingly open to men. In all probability the functions of the great stairway were accordingly extended: originally serving as seating for the female participants in

the Thesmophoria, with the δρώμενα in the open area in front referring to these celebrations, from Antonine times onward the mimetic actions referred more strongly to the Eleusinian mysteries.

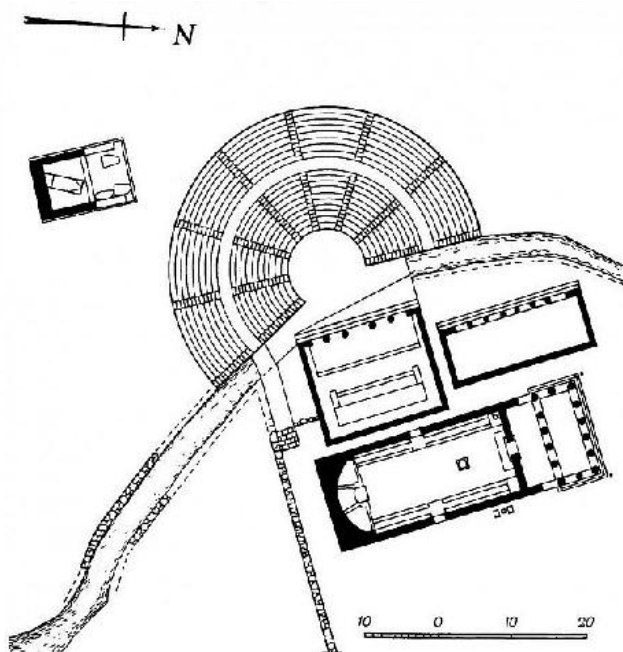
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At the famous sanctuary of the Kabiroi in the north part of the island of Samothrake there is a further interesting example of communication by means of visual experience of ritual procedures (*fig. 11*). In the western part of the cult complex a rectangular construction was erected between 340 and 330 BC, on top of an older rock altar. Researchers know this structure as the 'altar court'.

122

On three sides were very high walls; only the west side was accessible and permitted a view of the inside of the structure, seen through four Doric columns with an extended intercolumnium. Apparently the inside was not roofed over. In front of the east wall of the court was the altar. The fragmentarily preserved dedicatory inscription on the architrave of the west side refers to the founder. According to some researchers, the structure was financed by Arrhidaios, the half-brother of Alexander the Great, who was later to succeed his brother to the Macedonian throne as Philip III. This hypothesis was not accepted generally, though.

123



The hillside directly across from the 'altar court' served as an audience area for the pilgrims participating in the great sacrifices during the public celebrations in honour of the Kabiroi; this was already the case at the time when only the ancient rock altar existed. Following the construction of the 'altar court', the hillside was left for a short time in its natural form. Not until the 2nd century BC was a stone theatre very hastily built.

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In the case of the Kabiroi sanctuary on Samothrake we may assume that the theatre complex was used also at other times, and not only during the sacrificial rituals at the altar in the altar courtyard. Decrees of the 2nd century BC honour two dramatists, Dymas of Iasos and Herodes of Priene, for their works, which had been played on Samothrake and had close connections to the mythical traditions of the cult complex through their subject.

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It may be conjectured, with Nielsen, that these works were ritual dramas that were played in the theatre of the Kabiroi sanctuary, with the 'altar court' as a cult background.

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A congenial solution in the 5th century BC for providing room for spectators, who were to communicate with the level of the divine by means of the visual experience of mimetic ritual, can be found at the sanctuary of Artemis already mentioned, in Brauron in Attica (*fig. 12*). During the Classical period the cult complex was dominated architecturally by a great Π-shaped hall to the north of the temple.

127

On the north side there are six larger rooms and one smaller, all behind the colonnade. The west side of the hall also had four rooms, which were separated by a propylon leading to the interior of the courtyard. There were no rooms on the east side. In each of the large rooms inlets for eleven couches were found, as well as inlets in the floor for setting up tables. Quite clearly these rooms with their couches and tables are banqueting rooms. All appearances point to

the ritual meals following the sacrifice at the altar having taken place here.

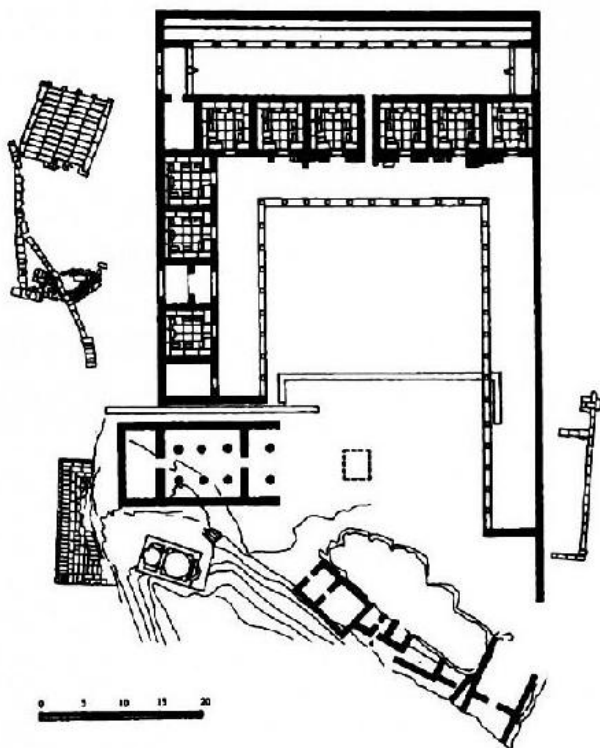


Fig. 12: The sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron. Plan

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Some indications exist, which can not be discussed here, that most probably the hall had a second storey in the area of the rear rooms, containing bedrooms.

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The examination of the construction history of this building has shown that the hall was erected in the second half of the 5th century BC and never finished; prior to the construction of the rooms on the west side there had been problems due to ground erosion. At the east side of the hall an inscription was found, which dates to the year of the Archon Arimnestos (416/5 BC);

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this inscription mentions the stoa for the first time. The hall was not used for long, at any rate; towards the end of the 4th century BC its

northern part must have been destroyed.

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To the most important aspects of ritual life at the sanctuary of Artemis in Brauron belongs the initiation rite of the Arkteia, for which Aristophanes' comedy *Lysistrata* yields valuable information, Supplémented by ancient commentaries on this work and the depictions on vessels, the so-called *krateriskoi*.

130

The *Souda* tells of a bear at Brauron, which was tamed and lived in the sanctuary. One day a small girl was playing with the bear and irritated it, whereupon the animal scratched the face of the girl, whose angry brothers then killed it. Artemis, enraged at the death of the bear, punished the Athenians; an illness befell them and they sought advice at the oracle of Apollon in Delphi. The god commanded that all girls between the ages of 5 and 10 years were to serve the goddess, disguised as bears.

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The most important information about the Arkteia has been obtained from the archaeological findings themselves, namely from the *krateriskoi*.,

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These are small black and red figure vessels with a high conical foot; their form is reminiscent of the monumental *krateres* of the Late Geometric Period. They are datable to the late 6th and the 5th centuries BC; the majority can be dated to the first half of the 5th century. These vessels can be divided into three categories according to their ornamentation: a) *krateriskoi* with linear ornamentation, b) *krateriskoi* with animal friezes and c) *krateriskoi* with depictions of the various phases of the Arkteia (fig. 13a-b). On the last mentioned girls running naked or clothed are depicted near an altar and a palm tree, as well as the ritual dance of small girls with short chitons near an altar and a palm tree.

133

In all depictions only small girls or women are shown, and this shows that men remained away from these ritual actions. The depictions also offer us indications of the location of the rituals: the altar indicates a sanctuary, while the palm tree characterises the sanctuary as belonging to Artemis, for this tree is the symbol of the birth of the

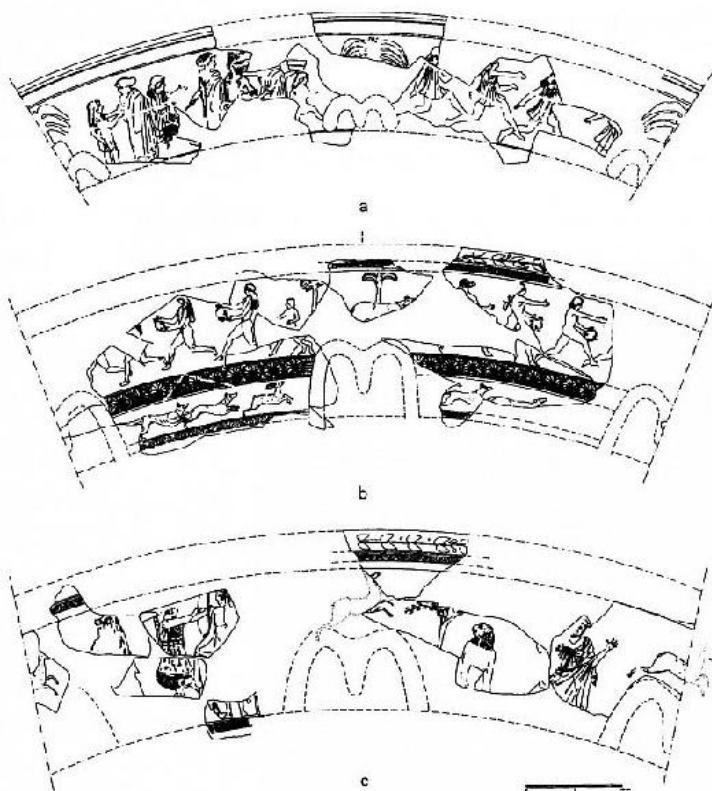


Fig. 13: Krateriskoi found at Brauron. Drawing:

54

Researchers have interpreted the Arkteia as a kind of initiation rite for girls, a preparation for adolescence. The depictions on the krateriskoi show the various phases of initiation. The girls dance at the beginning around the altar; then they prepare for the run. At a certain point they strip and run naked from then on. Our sources give us no indication of the nakedness of the girls, if we except a hint given in the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes, where a woman tells in an autobiographical way of celebrating the Arkteia 'by throwing off the saffron-coloured clothing' (ἡᾶτ' ἔχουσα τὸν κροιωτὸν ἄριτος ἢ Βραυρωνίους).

134

Under no circumstances should the ritual race at Brauron be considered as a kind of sports competition in which a victory was to

be won. S. Miller goes too far indeed when he interprets the nakedness of the Arktoi as 'clear evidence from Brauron of a women's gymnikos agon'.

135

55

A scene is depicted on a fragmentarily preserved red figure *krateriskos*, which very probably reveals the character of the initiation ritual as a mimetic representation of the aitiological myth of the origin of the Arkteia: beside the Apollonic triad are shown a male and a female figure obviously wearing bear masks (*fig. 13c*). E. Simon thought these to be Arkas and Kallisto, being changed into bears; but the question of why a scene from the Arcadian myths of Artemis should be depicted on a ritual vessel typical for the Attic sanctuary at Brauron – and at Mounichia

136

– remains unanswered.

137

L. Kahil's interpretation seems much more probable, namely that here a priest and priestess dressed as bears are dramatically imitating the myth of the Arkteia in the presence of the gods,

138

in other words a mimesis in Aristotle's sense. The running girls on the other *krateriskoi* are, in analogy, showing the single girl of the myth, who is trying to flee from the bear. This means that the mimesis of the myth constituted an important part of the initiation.

139

The final and decisive phase of the initiation is unknown to us. Certainly it will have been the mystery of mysteries, following the ritual undressing of the girls and the ritual chase by the bear.

140

Being a mystery, it could not be depicted and could not be told. We do not know its content, and we will probably never know. Probably it had a sexually connotative character.

56

The generously planned hall complex apparently formed an experimental attempt by a truly innovative architect to serve as many areas of ritual in the sanctuary of Artemis as possible. In the banqueting rooms the communication through the communal sacrificial feast took place after the sacrifices at the altar, while in the

upper storey the little *arktoi* could stay; furthermore, the colonnaded halls offered room on the one hand for the cult participants who witnessed the sacrifice at the altar, on the other for the young participants in the Arkteia, who could not take active part in the ritual race to escape the bear, but could become a communicative part of the ritual by means of the visual experience of the δρώμενον on the open courtyard formed by the hall. In this fashion the brauronic hall was transformed into a theatre with the open courtyard in front as the orchestra during the mimetic representation of the myth of the small girl and the sacred animal of Artemis.

57

Ritual mimetic actions are a communicative medium in Greek religion that have hardly been researched.

141

Δρώμενα of this kind permitted every cult participant, no matter what level of education he or she had, to experience religious content in a type of passive communication without the 'burden' of an intellectual, theological and theoretical superstructure. Greek sanctuaries in this regard offered many opportunities for carrying out such cult dramas, in the form of the architectural design of the buildings involved and their surroundings. From simple stairways or tiers, as in the sanctuary of Demeter at Corinth, through theatre complexes such as that at the Amphiareion of Oropos or at the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, to experimental buildings such as the colonnaded hall at Brauron, anything seemed possible: the need for communication with the divine rendered the Greek will to form limitless.

Processions: Communicative interaction between sacred spaces

58

In his fundamental work on the phenomenon of *pompé*, F. Bömer declared, with an almost apodeictic formulation, that a procession is 'not an independent ritual action; it is only the movement toward one'.

142

Although the first part of this statement is certainly correct, as processions as independent ritual actions are indeed not documented, a semantic limitation of the procession to a simple movement towards the actual ritual action, towards the sacrifice, is at the same time a hermeneutic barrier which would hinder the proper understanding of this very significant ritual action, significant throughout the entire ancient world in its heightened performance, as a medium of ritual communication.

143

It is just the markedly performative aspect of ancient processions and the concern for their correct execution which underscore their religious significance, and sometimes lead to the modern impression that they were even 'shows'.

144

The construction of colonnaded halls along some procession routes, in order to give the spectators an adequate place of viewing, emphasises the significance of processions as ritual actions with heightened performances.

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59

Examine the written and pictorial evidence on Greek processions, and they probably would appear to be an audiovisual total work of art in the sense of Wagner. The omnipresence of music,

146

the ritual *kinesis*, so different from the everyday walk,

147

and the festive self-presentation of the participants contribute to a heightening of the interaction between ritual action and spectator, who were simultaneously listeners.

148

Just how important the integration of the performance of a procession was to ritual communication becomes clear with the example of the great Dionysian procession of the Ptolemies in Alexandria,

149

which was intended primarily and skilfully to impart the divine (through Dionysos) and dynastic (through Alexander) legitimization of the Ptolemies in Egypt, using symbols and mimetic actions, although the purely ritual conclusion of the procession was a sacrifice.

150

When reading the detailed description of the Alexandrian procession given by Athenaios,

151

one has the impression that in this case not the concluding sacrificial feast, but rather the procession itself represented the performative culmination

152

, clearly overshadowing the ritual act of sacrifice and taking on the role of the actual communicative mediator between the Hellenistic rulers of Egypt and the population of Alexandria.

60

However, processions fulfilled another purpose, one exceeding the interaction between action and spectator. They enabled the ritual communication between sacred sites. From such topographical points of view, F. Graf attempted to distinguish between centripetal and centrifugal processions. The decisive differentiating characteristic in this categorisation would be the direction of the procession, whether towards the religious and political centre of a polis, or away from this centre.

153

For a useful categorisation of Greek processions, I see the definition of sacral points of culmination, in communication with one another, as significant too; one would have to distinguish, of course, between processions and pilgrimages.

154

Many processions seem to conjoin two sacral rooms with each other, in that they enable a polis and its periphery to enter into communication via many stations in between. Processions of this type are, among others, the Attic processions to Eleusis

155

and Brauron,

156

the procession to the Heraion

157

organized by Mycenae and, later, by Argos, the Spartan procession to Tainaron

158

or the Milesian procession to Didyma.

159

All of these *pompai* also express a territorial claim, which is

legitimised by means of the ritual creation of a cult topography. In the case of the Eleusinian, Brauronian or Tainaric processions, a 'branch foundation' at a central place in the polis is even connected to the 'mother sanctuary'.

61

Many processions, again, have a more limited radius of influence, and appear to have a single point of culmination, such as the Panathenaic procession at Athens with its linear orientation towards the Acropolis,

160

or one of the Ephesian processions, which took on a more circular appearance, having the Artemision as starting point and end.

161

The significance of a particular divinity and his or her normative role for the celebrating city, ritually seen, was confirmed by such processions, for the *pompé* is also the means of ritual communication among important points of crystalisation within the city, which interact with each other and lead step by step to the most important sanctuary of the city. In Athens the Panathenaic procession began at the city wall, at the Pompeion, between the Sacred Gate and the Dipylon, continued through the middle of the Agora and ended at the Acropolis. In this way the procession connected the three most important topographical, but also ideal fixed points in the spatial system of the Greek polis: city wall – agora – acropolis.

162

62

A very special form of the Greek procession was that documented for the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia by Pausanias.

163

Once a month, a sacrificial procession went through the entire sanctuary according to a prescribed ceremony (*fig. 14*).

164

A bloodless sacrifice was to be held at some 70 altars within and also outside the Altis. Together with frankincense, wheatflour, kneaded with honey, was burned upon the altar, which was decorated with olive branches. Libations of wine were an integral part of the sacrificial offerings, according to Pausanias. Prayers and hymns accompanied the sacrificial procession and the burning of the sacrificial offerings. The sacrificial ritual was not carried out by one

individual priest, but by a *theokolos*, accompanied by seers, *spondophoroi*, an aulos player, an *exegetes* and a *xyleus*. The sacrificial procession began at the altar of Hestia in the Prytaneion in the northwestern part of the temenos and led then to the altar of Zeus Olympios. Among the most important facilities visited by the cult officials were six double altars, which obviously belonged to the oldest points of crystallisation in the Altis; their existence is vouched for already by Pindar.

165

These were the altars for Zeus Laoitas and Poseidon Laoitas, for Hera and Athena, for Apollon and Hermes, for Dionysos and the Charites, for Artemis and Alpheios, and for Kronos and Rhea.

166

Pindar documents their function within the framework of the Olympic celebrations following the games: the victors were to sacrifice bulls at these altars. In mythology the sanctuary of Zeus, the Olympic Games and the double altars came into being simultaneously. In the further course of things the monthly procession reached even the most southerly area of the sanctuary, the area of the Hippodrome, not yet excavated.

63

Pausanias himself described the course of the monthly procession with some uneasiness, for in his eyes there existed a pronounced discrepancy between the architectural topography of the sanctuary of Zeus and the sacral space created by the procession's ritual actions at the 'randomly' scattered altars. This incomprehension did, however, result from the view, often to be found in modern archaeological research too, that sacred space is primarily defined through architecture. But it is the rituals carried out, and not their architectural background, which are necessary for the mental and, at the same time, spatial comprehension of the sacred space. The Olympic procession is the best example of this. By means of the communicative connection of the most important cult facilities within the sanctuary with the aid of a sacrificial ritual at each individual altar, a ritual which remained identical in all its elements, the sacred topography of the sanctuary of Zeus was confirmed again and again, once every month. The sequence of altars visited defined, at the same time, a local cult hierarchy.

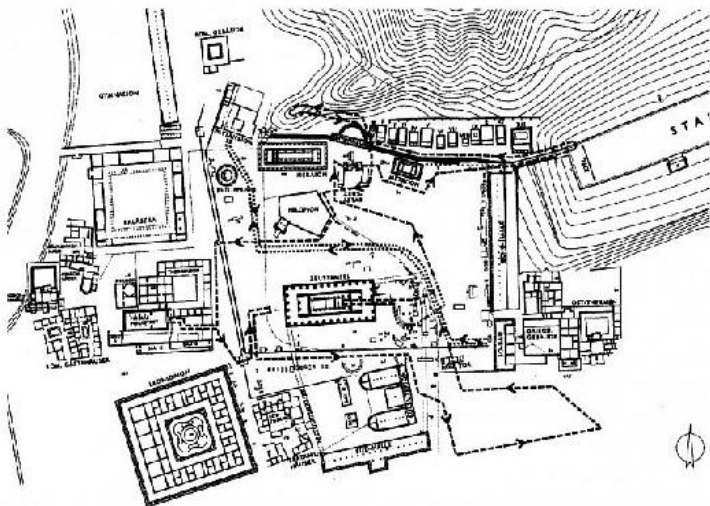


Fig. 14: Reconstruction of the course of the "altar procession" at Olympia. After T. Hölscher

64

Greek processions appear as a communications medium effective at several levels. The active participants define their own identities and their position within the collective by their hierarchical rank in a procession, by no means free of competitive aspects, as L. Maurizio was able to show,

167

and by their interaction with other participants. The spectators repeatedly experience the structure of their polis and the significance of the divinity honoured for the consolidation of the collective affiliation through their passive audiovisual participation. On a different level, the participants themselves become a living medium of communication, when they connect points of crystallisation of the cult by means of the ritual *kinesis*, in order to confirm the religious topography of a city, a region or even a sanctuary.

65

Greek sanctuaries did not possess any monopoly on ritual communication, although a few important ones – the most significant being the sanctuary of Apollon at Delphi

168

– played a very special communicative role in the panhellenic sense. Many of the ritual actions, such as prayer, libation, rites of initiation could take place equally well outside of the cult site. The sacrifices

prior to battle did not require a sanctuary either. Nevertheless, the rituals could only fully unfold their almost limitless possibilities of communication within a cult place. Here, surrounded by numerous dedications and often with a very impressive architectural background, the cult community could interact with the divine with the help of the sacrifice and it could, again and again, confirm its collective identity in the communication of the members among one another during the communal sacrificial meals. Rich votive offerings enabled communication between the dedicator and the divinity, through the visible expression of piety, and invited the observer to a dialogue on a further semantic level by means of both their visual effect and the dedicatory inscriptions, a dialogue in which possibly the polemic or connecting relation of the votive offerings among one another could be perceived. Mimetic cult actions represented a further possibility of ritual communication and offered all participants an audiovisual experience of the divine and its world of mythology. This theatricality in presentation, but also in the reception of rituals, required and furthered active interaction between actors and spectators, who did not at all forget that it all had to do with a *mimesis*, a performance. The statement by W.R. Connor (in connection with the 'theatralic' entry of Peisistratos into Athens accompanied by Athena, acted by Phye) is pithy in this regard: "The citizens are not naive bumpkins but participants in a theatricality whose rules and roles they understand and enjoy. These are alert, even sophisticated, actors in a ritual drama..."

169

Processions, too, were ritual dramas with mimetic elements, as the example of the young Antea, dressed as Artemis, and her lover Habrokomes in the Ephesian procession clearly shows.

170

Processions, however, did not only enable the active participants to interact with each other and with the passive spectators; they also enabled the communication among different sacred points of culmination, by means of a re-semanticisation of the group of participants, who themselves became a medium of communication. Every dynamic development or alteration of the ritual actions, as the example of the Corinthian sanctuary of Demeter best demonstrates, also changed the image of every cult place in addition, in a never-

ending process, for sacred space and ritual found themselves in continuous interactive communication, too.

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69

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Fig. 5 after N.D.Papachatzis, Πausανίου Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις 5. Βοιωτικὰ καὶ Φωκιὰ, Athen, 1981, p. 318, fig. 365.

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Fig. 7 after B. Schmidt-Dounas, *Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft. Politik und Selbst-darstellung im Spiegel der Monumente*, Berlin, 2000, p. 204-205, fig. 65 and 66.

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Fig. 12 after J. Mylonopoulos, F. Bubenheimer, “Beiträge zur Topographie des Artemision von Brauron”, *AA* (1996), p. 9, fig. 1.

Fig. 13 after L. Kahil, “L’Artémis de Brauron : rites et mystère”, *AK* 20 (1977), p. 86, fig. A-C.

Fig. 14 after T. Hölscher, “Rituelle Räume und politische Denkmäler im Heiligtum von Olympia”, in H. Kyrieleis (ed.), *Olympia 1875-2000. 125 Jahre Deutsche Ausgrabungen, Internationales Symposium, Berlin 9.-11. November 2000*, Mainz, 2002, p. 337, fig- 3.

Notes

1 My thanks for many fruitful discussions are due especially to Dr. Fritz Blakolmer (Vienna), Prof. Angelos Chaniotis (Heidelberg), Dr. Bettina Kratzmüller (Vienna), Dr. Eftychia Stavrianopoulou (Heidelberg) and Dr. Elisabeth Trinkl (Vienna). I am very grateful indeed to Andrea Sulzgruber and Edith Hütter, the photographers at the Institute for Classical Archaeology at the University of Vienna, for their revision of the illustrations.

Herodotus, IX, 36-41.

2 Xenophon, *Anabasis* VI, 4, 12-27.

3 Xenophon, *Anabasis* VI, 5, 2.

4 A ritual which is very much dependent on communication, and which has been investigated relatively intensively by researchers, is that of prayer, cf. FT. van Straten, “Did the Greeks Kneel Before Their Gods?”, *BABesch* 49 (1974), p. 159-189; H.S. Versnel, “Religious Mentality in Ancient Prayer”, in *id.* (ed.), *Faith, Hope, and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World*, Leiden, 1981 (*Studies in Greek and Roman Religion*, 2), p. 1-64; S. Pulleyn, *Prayer in Greek Religion*, Oxford, 1997; T.S. Scheer, *Die Gottheit und ihr Bild. Untersuchungen zur Funktion griechischer Kultbilder in Religion und Politik*, Munich, 2000 (*Zetemata*, 105), p. 70-75; S. Bettinetti, *La statua di culto nella pratica rituale greca*, Bari, 2001, p. 161-174; T.S. Scheer, “Die Götter

anrufen. Die Kontaktaufnahme zwischen Mensch und Gottheit in der griechischen Antike", in K. Brodersen (ed.), *Gebet und Fluch, Zeichen und Traum. Aspekte religiöser Kommunikation in der Antike*, Munster, 2001, p. 31-56; P. Lenant de Billefonds, s.v. "Rites et activités relatifs aux images de culte V. L'image de culte objet de vénération, lieu de prière, de supplication et de refuge", *ThesCRA II* (2004), p. 456-463.

5 For a special form of sacrificial meal, which cannot be discussed here, see: M.H. Jameson, "Theoxenia", in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence. Proceedings of the 2nd Intern. Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, Organized by the Swedish Institute at Athens, 22-24 November 1991*, Stockholm, 1994, p. 35-57; G. Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults*, Liège, 2002 (Kernos, suppl. 12), p. 276-286; L. Bruit, F. Lissarrague, s.v. "Le banquet en Grèce I. Banquets des dieux C. Les Theoxenies", *ThesCRA II* (2004), p. 225-229.

6 On structuralism, cf. *inter alia*: M. Detienne, J.-P. Vernant, *The Cuisine of Sacrifice Among the Greeks*, Chicago, 1989 (English transl. of *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec*, Paris, 1979); J.-P. Vernant, "Théorie générale du sacrifice et mise à mort dans la *Θυσία* grecque", in J.-P. Vernant (ed.), *Le sacrifice dans l'antiquité*, Genève, 1981 (*Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique* 27), p. 1-21; J. Rudhardt, *Notions fondamentales de la pensée religieuse et actes constitutifs du culte dans la Grèce classique*, Paris, 1992² [1958]. On evolutionism cf. *inter alia*: W. Burkert, *Homo Necans: Interpretationen altgriechischer Opferriten und Mythen*, Berlin, 1972; R. Girard, *La violence et le sacré*, Paris, 1972; W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, Berkeley, 1979; id., *Creation of the Sacred. Tracks of Biology in Early Religions*, Cambridge, Mass., 1996.

7 W. Burkert, "Glaube und Verhalten: Zeichengehalt und Wirkungsmacht von Opferritualen", in Vernant (ed.), o.c. (n. 6), p. 96: "doch bleibt er [i.e. functionalism] zumindest als heuristisches Prinzip gerade für antike Gesellschaften wichtig."

8 A. Henrichs, "Dromena und Legomena. Zum rituellen Selbstverständnis der Griechen", in F. Graf (ed.), *Ansichten griechischer Rituale. Festschrift Walter Burkert*, Stuttgart, 1998, p. 33-71. S.C. Humphreys, *The Strangeness of Gods. Historical Perspectives on the Interpretation of Athenian Religion*, Oxford, 2004, p. 223-275, following a long diachronic consideration of the Attic Anthesteria, maintains that dogmas did indeed exist in Greek religion; however, the author does not give us any clear evidence for this: "Jane Harrison and her contemporaries distinguished Greek religion from the religions of the book by claiming that it consisted of ritual without dogma. This dichotomy now seems totally misleading, being blind to the rich development in Greece of speculative theology" (p. 275).

9 F. van Straten, "The God's Portion in Greek Sacrificial Representations: Is the Tail Doing Nicely?", in R. Hägg et al. (eds), *Early Greek Cult Practice. Proceedings of the 5th International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26-29 June 1986*, Stockholm, 1988, p. 57-60; id., *Hiera kalá. Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece*, Leiden, 1995 (RGRW, 127), p. 118-144; K.W. Berger, *Tieropfer auf griechischen Vasen*, Würzburg, 1998, p. 125-140. See also: J. Gebauer, *Pompe und*

Thysia. Attische Tieropferdarstellungen auf schwarz- und rotfigurigen Vasen, Münster, 2002 (EIKON 7), p. 352-354.

10 J. Forsèn *et al.*, "The Sanctuary of Agios Elias. Its Significance, and Its Relations to Surrounding Sanctuaries and Settlements", in T.H. Nielsen, J. Roy (eds), *Defining Ancient Arkadia. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 6*, Copenhagen, 1999, p. 179.

11 J. Boessneck, *Die Tierknochenfunde aus dem Kahirenheiligtum bei Theben (Böotien)*, Munich, 1973.

12 J. Boessneck, *Knochenabfall von Opfermahlen und Weihgaben aus dem Heraion von Samos (7. Jh. v.Chr.)*, Munich, 1988.

13 A. Bammer *et al.*, "Das Tieropfer am Artemisaltar von Ephesos", in S. Şahin *et al.* (eds), *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens I. Festschrift für K. Dörner*, Leiden, 1978 (EPRO 66), p. 107-115; G. Forstenpointner *et al.*, "Archäozoologische Untersuchungen zu den Formen des Tieropfers im Artemision von Ephesos", in H. Friesinger, F. Krinzinger (eds), *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos. Akten des Symposions Wien 1995*. Vienna, 1999, p. 225-232.

14 R. Hägg, "Osteology and Greek Sacrificial Practice", in *id.* (ed.), *Ancient Cult Practice from the Archaeological Evidence. Proceedings of the 4th Intern. Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, Organized by the Swedish Institute at Athens, 22-24 October 1993*, Stockholm, 1998, p. 49-56.

15 For a general discussion of this issue, cf. J.N. Bremmer, "Modi di comunicazione con il divino: la preghiera, la divinazione ed il sacrificio nella civiltà greca", in S. Settis (ed.), *I Greci. Storia, Cultura, Arte, Società I. Noi e i Greci*, Turin, 1996, p. 248-279; F. Graf, "What is New About Greek Sacrifice", in H.F.J. Horstmannshoff *et al.* (eds), *Kykeon. Studies in Honour of H.S. Versnel*, Leiden, 2002 (RGRW, 142), p. 113-125.

16 F. Bömer, s.v. "Pompa", *RE* XXI 2 (1952), col. 1908.

17 Detailed depictions of processions which permit statements about the possible order within the participating groups are rare in red figure vase painting. A general discussion of representations of processions in M. True *et al.*, s.v. "Greek Processions", *ThesCRA* I (2004), p. 1-20.

18 Thucydides, VI, 57.

19 *IG* V 1, 1390. 28-34. (= *LSCG* 65, 92/91 BC). On the γυναικονόμοι see *inter alia* C. Wehrli, "Les gynéconomes", *MH* 19 (1962), p. 33-38; B.J. Garland, *Gynaikonomoi: An Investigation of Greek Censors of Women*, Baltimore, 1981; M. Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, London, 2003, p. 290-291.

20 H. Laxander, *Individuum und Gemeinschaft im Fest. Untersuchungen zu attischen Darstellungen von Festgeschehen im 6. und frühen 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr.*, Münster, 2000, p. 7-10; Gebauer, o.c. (n. 9), p. 28-34; True *et al.*, l.c. (n. 17), p. 12, n° 67. Irrelevant in this context, and most probably quite misleading, is the assumption that the band cup in Paris has as a topic the Panathenaic procession, an assumption made by N. Himmelmann and others (N. Himmelmann, *Tieropfer in der griechischen Kunst*, Opladen, 1997, p. 22) as a matter of course.

21 W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, Stuttgart,

1977, p. 157.

22 R. Garland, "Priests and Power in Classical Athens", in M. Beard, J. North (eds), *Pagan Priests. Religion and Power in the Ancient World*, London, 1990, p. 81. A differentiated idea of Greek priests as ritual experts is given by the following: E. Stavrianopoulou, "Priester gesucht, Erfahrung erwünscht!", in C. Ambos *et al.* (eds), *Die Welt der Rituale. Von der Antike bis heute*, Darmstadt, 2005, p. 90-95; A. Chaniotis, "Priests as Ritual Experts in the Greek World", in B. Dignas, K. Trampedach (eds), *Practitioners of the Sacred: Greek Priests from Homer to Julian*, Cambridge, Mass. (forthcoming).

23 Homer, *Iliad* VI, 293-299.

24 J.D. Beazley, "ΕΛΕΝΗΣ ΑΠΑΙΘΗΣΙΣ", *PBA* 43 (1957), p. 233-244; M.I. Davies, "The Reclamation of Helen", *AK* 20 (1977), p. 73-85.

25 A.G. Mantis, Προβλήματα της εικονογραφίας των ιερειών και των ιερέων στην αρχαία ελληνική τέχνη, Athens, 1990, p. 40-65.

26 *Delos* 1891; 1892; 2081.

27 Mantis, *o.c.* (n. 25), p. 82-96.

28 M. Detienne, "The Violence of Wellborn Ladies: Women in the Thesmophoria", in De-TIENNE, Vernant, *o.c.* (a. 6), p. 129-147; U. Kron, "Frauenfeste in Demeterheiligtumern. Das Thesmophorion von Bitalemi. Eine archaologische Fallstudie", *AA* (1992), p. 611-650; R. Osborne, "Women and Sacrifice in Classical Greece", *CIQ* 43 (1993), p. 392-405; H.S. Versnel, *Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion II. Transition and Reversal in Myth and Ritual*, Leiden, 1993, p. 235-274, 284-288. Interesting and unusual in this regard is the depiction on a red figure hydria from Nola (Berlin, Antikensammlung, Inv.-N° F 2386, ca. 440 BC), which shows two women sacrificing at a rock altar. The woman at the left is holding a sacrificial knife in her hand. Cf. E. Bohr, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Deutschland vol. 74. Berlin, Antikensammlung vol. 9: Attisch rotfigurige Hydrien- Attische Fimis-Hydrien*, Munich, 2002, p. 45-47, pi. 23.

29 R. Lindner, "Priesterinnen. Bildzeugnisse zum griechischen Gotterkult", in E. Klinger *et al.* (eds), *Geschlechterdifferenz, Ritual und Religion*, Würzburg, 2003, p. 61.

30 For the possibility of having a *mageiros* carry out the sacrifice, cf. G. Berthiaume, *Les rôles du mageiros. Étude sur la boucherie, la cuisine et le sacrifice dans la Grèce ancienne*, Leiden, 1982 (*Mnemosyne*, suppl. 70), p. 17-40.

31 S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer*, Hildesheim, rep. 1977 [1915], p. 76-77; Burkert, *o.c.* (n. 21), p. 102; S. Hotz, "Delphi – eine störrische Ziege und Priester unter Druck", in Ambos *et al.* (eds), *o.c.* (n. 22), p. 102-105.

32 W. Burkert, too, who ascribes a communicative significance to the animal sacrifice in particular, because of collective guilt, acknowledges the identity forging characteristics of the sacrificial feast, cf. Burkert, *o.c.* (n. 21), p. 105: "Ist für mythische wie für begriffliche Reflexion problematisch, was solch ein Opfer den Gott angeht, so ist doch immer klar, was es für die Menschen bedeutet: Gemeinschaft, *koinōnia*. Schon mit dem 'Händewaschen' ist die Zugehörigkeit

markiert, dem Umkreisen, dem gemeinsamen Werfen; enger noch ist die Verbindung durch das 'Kosten der *splánchna*'."

33 P.schmitt Pantel, F. Lissarrague, s.v. "Le banquet en Grèce II. Les hommes au banquet D. Banquet des cites", *ThesCRA* II (2004), p. 239-247. cf also Ch. Orfanos, J.-C. Carrière (eds), *Symposium. Banquet et représentations en Grèce et à Rome, Colloque international – Université de Toulouse-LeMirail, mars 2002, CRATA, Toulouse, 2003 (Pallas, 61).*

34 E. Trinkl, *Die Rolle des Splachnoptes beim griechischen Opfer*, unpubl. master's thesis, Vienna, 1990; Laxander, o.c. (n. 20), p. 39-48.

35 L. Cerchiai, "II programma figurativo dell'hydria Ricci", *AK* 38 (1995), p. 81-91; Gebauer, o.c. (n. 9), p. 324-330; A. Hermary et al., s.v. "Les sacrifices dans le monde grec I. Les sacrifices d'animaux H. Découpe, répartition des parts, modes de cuisson", *ThesCRA* I (2004), p. 124, n° 535.

36 Himmelmann, o.c. (n. 20), p. 26 cautiously speaks of an "Opferherr".

37 G.C. Nordquist, "Some Notes on Musicians in Greek Art", in HÄGG (ed.), o.c. (n. 5), p. 87. On the function of musicians in Greek cult practice in general, cf. most recently H. Brand, *Griechische Musikanten im Kult: von der Frühzeit bis zum Beginn der Spätklassik*, Dettelbach, 2000; Z.D. Papadopoulou, s.v. "Greek Music II. Musicians in Cult", *ThesCRA* II (2004), p. 355-365; A. Goulaki-Voutira, Z.D. Papadopoulou, s.v. "Greek Music V. Kultische Anlässe mit Musik", *ThesCRA* II (2004), p. 371-382.

38 vanStraten, o.c. (n. 9), p. 148-149.

39 C. Morgan, "Ritual and Society in the Early Iron Age Corinthia", in Hägg (ed.), o.c. (n. 14), p. 77-80; ead., *Isthmia VIII: The Late Bronze Age Settlement and Early Iron Age Sanctuary*, Princeton, 1999, p. 373-377; J. Mylonopoulos, Πελοπόννησος οἰκητήριον Ποσειδῶνος. *Heiligtümer und Kulte des Poseidon auf der Peloponnes*, Liege, 2003 (*Kemos*, suppl. 13), p. 162, 195.

40 H. Kyrieleis, "Zu den Anfängen des Heiligtums in Olympia", in H. Kyrieleis (ed.), *Olympia 1875-2000. 125 Jahre Deutsche Ausgrabungen, Internationales Symposium, Berlin 9.-11. November 2000*, Mainz, 2002, p. 213-220; C. Morgan, *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis*, London, 2003, p. 107-134.

41 Chr. Börker, *Festbankett und griechische Architektur*, Konstanz, 1983 (*Xenia*, 4); P. schmitt Pantel, *La cité au banquet. Histoire du repas publics dans les cites grecques*, Rome, 1992 (*Coll. de l'École française de Rome* 157), p. 304-313. On the banquet room in Hellenistic times, more in private function, cf. K.M.D. Dunbabin, "Ut Graeco More Biberetur: Greeks and Romans on the Dining Couch", in I. Nielsen, H.S. Nielsen (eds), *Meals in a Social Context. Aspects of the Communal Meal in the Hellenistic and Roman World*, Aarhus, 1998 (*Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity*, 1), p. 82-89.

42 L. Robert, "Un édifice du sanctuaire de l'Isthme dans une inscription de Corinthe", *Hellenica* 1 (1940), p. 43-53; G. Kuhn, "Untersuchungen zur Funktion der Säulenhalle in archaischer und klassischer Zeit", *JDAI* 100 (1985), p. 171-172 with footnote 6.

43 J.J. Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa*, Oxford, 1976, p. 85-89.

- 44 H.A. Thompson, "Activity in the Athenian Agora: 1966-1967", *Hesperia* 37 (1968), p. 43-56.
- 45 J. Mylonopoulos, F. Bubenheimer, "Beiträge zur Topographie des Artemision von Brauron", *AA* (1996), p. 16-19; *eid.*, "Die Stoa von Brauron. Gestalt und Funktion der ältesten ri-förmigen Säulenhalle in Griechenland", in F. Bubenheimer *et al.* (eds), *Kult und Funktion griechischer Heiligtümer in archaischer und klassischer Zeit*, Mainz, 1996, p. 45-60; P. Themelis, "Contribution to the Topography of the Sanctuary at Brauron", in B. Gentili, F. Perusino (eds), *Le orse di Brauron. Un rituale di iniziazione femminile nel santuario di Artemide*, Pisa, 2002, p. 104-115; G. Ekroth, "Inventing Iphigeneia? On Euripides and the Cultic Construction of Brauron", *Kernos* 16 (2003), p. 108-110.
- 46 A. Frickenhaus, "Griechische Bankethäuser", *JDAI* 32 (1917), p. 121-130; P. Amandry, "Observations sur les monuments de l'Héraion d'Argos", *Hesperia* 21 (1952), p. 239-254; S. Miller, "The Date of the West Building at the Argive Heraion", *AJA* 77 (1973), p. 9-18; Coulton, *o.c.* (n. 43), 103-104, 217.
- 47 E.R. Gebhard, "Caves and Cults at the Isthmian Sanctuary of Poseidon", in R. Hägg (ed.), *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults, Proceedings of the 9th International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11-13 June 1994*, Stockholm, 2002, p. 63-74.
- 48 Mylonopoulos, *o.c.* (n. 39), p. 184-186. For an extensive discussion on the cult of Melikertes/Palaemon see CO. Pache, *Baby and Child Heroes in Ancient Greece*, Urbana/Chicago, 2004, p. 135-180.
- 49 Pausanias, II, 4, 7.
- 50 N. Bookidis, R.S. Stroud, *Corinth XVIII, 3: The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. Topography and Architecture*, Princeton, 1997, p. 8
- 51 P. Reichert-Südbeck, *Kulte von Korinth und Syrakus. Vergleich zwischen einer Metropolis und ihrer Apoikia*, Dettelbach, 2000, p. 219-258.
- 52 E.G. Pemberton, *Corinth XVIII, 1: The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. The Greek Pottery*, Princeton, 1989, p. 19-25.
- 53 Bookidis, Stroud, *o.c.* (n. 50), p. 22-49.
- 54 Bookidis, Stroud, *o.c.* (n. 50), p. 86-94, 98-150.
- 55 N. Bookidis, "The Sanctuaries of Corinth", in C.K. Williams II, N. Bookidis (eds), *Corinth XX: Corinth, The Centenary 1896-1996*, Princeton, 2003, p. 257.
- 56 Pausanias, II, 4, 7: ὁ δὲ τῶν Μοιρῶν καὶ ὁ Δῆμητρος καὶ Κόρης οὐ φανερά ἐχουσι τὰ ἀγάλματα.
- 57 N. Bookidis, "Ritual Dining at Corinth", in N. Marinatos, R. Hägg (eds), *Greek Sanctuaries. New Approaches*, London, 1993, p. 50-51.
- 58 S.G. Cole, "Demeter in the Ancient Greek City and Its Countryside", in S.E. Alcock, R. Osborne (eds), *Placing the Gods. Sanctuaries and Space in Ancient Greece*, Oxford, 1994, p. 213-214.
- 59 Chr. M. Thomas, "The Sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon: Cultic Space for Women and Its Eclipse", in H. Koester (ed.), *Pergamon, Citadel of the Gods. Archaeological Record, Literary Description, and Religious Development*, Harrisburg, 1998,

60 Schmitt Pantel, o.c. (n. 41), p. 49-52, 415-418. She does not limit herself just to sacrificial meals, but also examines the matter of communal feasting in general. Nevertheless, many of her statements also describe the role of the sacrificial meal: "créer les conditions de la communauté, tisser le lien social" (p. 252).

61 M.H. Jameson, "The Spectacular and the Obscure in Athenian Religion", in S. Goldhill, R. Osborne (eds), *Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 327-328.

62 A. Brumfield, "Aporreta: Verbal and Ritual Obscenity in the Cults of Ancient Women", in R. Hägg (ed.), *The Role of Religion in the Early Greek Polis, Proceedings of the 3rd Intern. Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, Organized by the Swedish Institute at Athens, 16-18 October 1992*, Stockholm, 1996, p. 68-74; Dillon, o.c. (n. 19), p. 109-138.

63 P.A. Butz, "Prohibitionary Inscriptions, Ἐξένοι, and the Influence of the Early Greek Polis", in Hägg (ed.), o.c. (n. 62), p. 75-95.

64 S. Krauter, *Bürgerrecht und Kultteilnahme. Politische und kultische Rechte und Pflichten in griechischen Poleis, Rom und antikem Judentum*, Berlin, 2004, p. 56-113. Krauter draws a very differentiated and profound picture of the exclusivity of Greek religion, showing that Greek religion was indeed not so exclusive as we assume.

65 F. Graf, "Zeichenkonzeption in der Religion der griechischen und römischen Antike", in R. Posner et al. (eds), *Semiotik. Ein Handbuch zu den zeichentheoretischen Grundlagen von Natur und Kultur 1*, Berlin, 1997, p. 943-944.

66 For a general survey of the manifold nature of Greek dedications cf. J. Boardman et al., s.v. "Greek Dedications II. Greek Votive Objects", *ThesCRA I* (2004), p. 281-318.

67 On the communicative aspects of Greek dedicatory reliefs cf. most recently A. Klöckner, "Menschlicher Gott und göttlicher Mensch? Zu einigen Weihreliefs für Asklepios und die Nymphen", in R. von den Hoff, S. Schmidt (eds), *Konstruktionen von Wirklichkeit. Bilder im Griechenland des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Stuttgart, 2001, p. 121-136; ead., "Votive als Gegenstände des Rituals – Votive als Bilder von Ritualen. Das Beispiel der griechischen Weihreliefs", in J. Mylonopoulos, H. Roeder (eds), *Archäologie und Ritual. Auf der Suche nach der rituellen Handlung in den antiken Kulturen Ägyptens und Griechenlands*, Wien, 2006, p. 139-152.

68 For the Archaic period cf. the exemplary study by B. Wagner-Hasel, *Der Stoff der Gaben. Kultur und Politik des Schenkens und Tauschens im archaischen Griechenland*, Frankfurt, 2000.

69 On this issue in general cf. H. v. Hesberg, W. Thiel (eds), *Medien in der Antike. Kommunikative Qualität und normative Wirkung*, Köln, 2003.

70 Thucydides, II, 13, 2-5.

71 D.B. Thompson, "The Golden Nikai Reconsidered", *Hesperia* 13 (1944), p. 173-208; W.E. Thompson, "The Golden Nikai and the Coinage of Athens", *NC* 10 (1970), p. 1-6.

72 T. Linders, "Gods, Gifts, Society", in T. Linders, G. Nordquist (eds), *Gifts to the Gods. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985*, Uppsala, 1987 (*Boreas*, 15), p. 115-122;

ead., "Ritual Display and the Loss of Power", in P. Hellström, B. Alroth (eds), *Religion and Power in the Ancient Greek World. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1993*, Uppsala, 1996 (*Boreas*, 24), p. 121-124. In general on Athens in the 4th century BC from the archaeological perspective cf. H. Knell, *Athen im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. – Eine Stadt verändert ihr Gesicht. Archäologisch-kulturgeschichtliche Betrachtungen*, Darmstadt, 2000.

73 I. Morris, "Circulation, Deposition, and the Formation of the Greek Iron Age", *Man* 24 (1989), p. 502-519.

74 S. Hansen, "Weihegaben zwischen System und Lebenswelt" in H.-J. Gehrke, A. möller (eds), *Vergangenheit und Lebenswelt. Soziale Kommunikation, Traditionsbildung und historisches Bewusstsein*, Tübingen, 1996, p. 257-276.

75 J.W. Day, "Interactive Offerings: Early Greek Dedicatory Epigrams and Ritual", *HSPH* 96 (1994), p. 37-74 (p. 72: "Then, the inscribed narrative of Mantiklos' act is spoken aloud by our visitor, who is thus drawn more deeply into the interaction, becoming part of the dedication by lending a voice to the deferred utterance on it").

76 A. Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic World. A Social and Cultural History*, Oxford, 2005, p. 143-148.

77 A. Jacquemin, *Guerre et religion dans le monde grec (490-322 av.J.-C.)*, Paris, 2000, p. 154-170.

78 A.H. Jackson, "Hoplites and the Gods: The Dedication of Captured Arms and Armour", in V.D. Hanson (ed.), *Hoplites: The Classical Greek Battle Experience*, London, 1991, p. 228-249. With particular reference to Hellenistic dedications of captured weapons cf. B. Schmidt-Dounas, *Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft. Politik und Selbstdarstellung im Spiegel der Monumente*, Berlin, 2000, p. 79-97.

79 A. Jackson, "Arms and Armour at the Panhellenic Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia", in W. Coulson, H. Kyrieleis (eds), *Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Olympic Games, 5-9 September 1988*, Athens, 1992, p. 141-144.

80 P. Siewert, "Votivbarren und das Ende der Waffen- und Geräteweiungen in Olympia" *MDAI(A)* 111 (1996), p. 141-148.

81 Pausanias, X, 11, 6.

82 F. Felten, "Weiungen in Olympia und Delphi", *MDAI(A)* 97 (1982), p. 79-97.

83 A. Jacquemin, *Offrandes monumentales à Delphes*, Paris, 1999 (*BEFAR*, 304), p. 258-259. A discussion of the dedications of victorious athletes in the great panhellenic sanctuaries, which likewise communicated with one another in a competitive sense (competition after the competition) would quite certainly exceed the limits of the present examination; for this cf. *inter alia* O. Peim, "Die Siegerstatuen von Schwerathleten in Olympia und ihre Zusammenstellung durch Pausanias", *Nikephoros* 13 (2000), p. 95-109; T. Holscher, "Rituelle Räume und politische Denkmäler im Heiligtum von Olympia", in Kyrieleis (ed.), o.c. (n. 40), p. 339-340.

84 Chr. Ioakimidou, *Die Statuenreihen griechischer Poleis und Bünde aus spätarcbaischer*

und klassischer Zeit, München, 1997, p. 322-335.

85 T. Hölscher, "Die Nike der Messenier und Naupaktier in Olympia. Kunst und Geschichte im späten 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.", *JDAI* 89 (1974), p. 72-84; C. Thöne, *Ikongraphische Studien zu Nike im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Untersuchungen zur Wirkungsweise und Wesensart*, Heidelberg, 1999, p. 117-118.

86 G. Roux, *Fouilles de Delphes II: La terrasse d'Attale I*, Paris, 1987.

87 G. roux, "La terrasse d'Attale I à Delphes", *BCH* 76 (1952), p. 185-195 interprets the ca. 27 m long foundation as the base of a statue. Against this, A. Jacquemin, D. Laroche, "La terrasse d'Attale F revisitée", *BCH* 116 (1992), p. 234-236/248-250 and Schmidt-Dounas, o.c. (n. 78), p. 192-193 see a long altar here, which they very cautiously link with the great sacrifice at the grave of the hero Neoptolemos (Heliodoros, *Aithiop.* III, 1-5).

88 H.-J. Schalles, *Untersuchungen zur Kulturpolitik der pergamenischen Herrscher im dritten Jahrhundert vor Christus*, Tübingen, 1985 (*Istanbuler Forschungen* 36), p. 106-116.

89 Pausanias, I, 4, 4.

90 W. Hoepfner, *Zwei Ptolemaierbauten. Das Ptolemaier-Weihgeschenk in Olympia und ein Bauvorhaben in Alexandria*, Berlin, 1971 (*MDAI/AJ*, Beiheft 1), p. 11-54. ⁹¹Schmidt-dounas, o.c. (n. 78), p. 203-204.

91 Schmidt-Dounas, o.c. (n. 78), p. 203-204.

92 On the integration of the observer in the action represented, and who almost becomes a part of the action in his imagination – with particular reference to the art of Hellenism – cf. most recently G. Zanker, *Modes of Viewing in Hellenistic Poetry and Art*, Madison Wisc, 2004.

93 CM. Keesling, *The Votive Statues of the Athenian Acropolis*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 97-161.

94 M. Stieber, *The Poetics of Appearance in the Attic Korai*, Austin, 2004, p. 135-140.

95 J.-L. Durand, "Ritual as Instrumentality", in Detienne, Vernant, o.c. (n. 6), p. 119: "To celebrate a rite is to do something. ... The spatial distribution of actors and actions, the layout of the space itself, the unfolding and organization of the series of movements, the atmosphere and geography of the rite – all are critical."

96 E. Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law. A Collection of New Documents* (NGSL), Leiden, 2005 (*RGRW*, 152), p. 96-100.

97 A. Henrichs, "Drama and *Dromena*: Bloodshed, Violence, and Sacrificial Metaphor in Euripides", *HSPH* 100 (2000), p. 176 writes, with regard to the representation of rituals in the tragedies: "Rituals chiefly supported by words and gestures such as lament, supplication, or solemn curses were easy to represent and were frequently reenacted in the theater". He defines rituals such as animal sacrifices or libations, however, as "predominantly non-verbal and action- oriented". It should rather be assumed that all rituals were a mixture of gesture and verbal communication, and that δρώμενον and λεγόμενον are not antithetic, but complementary.

98 On ritual drama in Eleusis cf. K. Clinton, *Myth and Cult. The Iconography of the*

Eleusinian Mysteries, Stockholm, 1992, p. 84-90. An exciting parallel occurs in Egypt: Herodotus refers in his *Histories* (II, 171) to Osirian mysteries at the Egyptian city of Saïs as being actually performed by night, most probably in the sense of a ritual drama: τὰ δειμήλα τῶν παθέων αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ποιεῦσι, τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια Αἰγύπτιοι.

99 C. Calame, *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece. Their Morphology, Religious Role, and Social Functions*, Lanham, 1997, p. 90-206 (Engl. transl. of *Les chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque*, Rome, 1977).

100 Jameson, l.c. (n. 61), p. 321-340.

101 D. Wiles, *Tragedy in Athens-. Performance, Space, and Theatrical Meaning*, Cambridge, 1997 [p. 111: "There was no sharp dividing line between reality on the one hand, myth and ritual on the other. The men who acted before the audience were also co-celebrants with the audience"].

102 On pictures and their possibilities or limitations as communicative carriers of 'religious' thought content via the pictorial transmission of myths cf. *inter alia* M.D. Stansbury -O'Donnell, *Pictorial Narrative in Ancient Greek Art*, Cambridge, 1999; N. Marinatos, "The Life Cycle of the Archaic Greek Warrior and Hero. The Interplay of Myth and Genre in Imagery", in S. des Bouvrie. (ed.), *Myth and Symbol I. Symbolic Phenomena in Ancient Greek Culture, Papers from the First International Symposium on Symbolism at the University of Tromsø, June 4-7, 1998*, Bergen, 2002, p. 153-170; L. Giuuani, *Bild und Mythos. Geschichte der Bilderzählung in der griechischen Kunst*, München, 2003; S. Woodford, *Images of Myths in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge, 2003- On depictions (in the context of the grave, the wedding, the Anthesteria, and the world of women) on Attic vases and their communicative reach cf. most recently S. Schmidt, *Rhetorische Bilder auf attischen Vasen. Visuelle Kommunikation im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Berlin, 2005.

103 G. Bakir, *Sophilos. Ein Beitrag zu seinem Stil*, Mainz, 1981.

104 The fact that the Greek *agones* were no sports competition in the modern sense, but rather an integral part of religious action, need not be gone into at this point; for this, cf. *inter alia* E. Pemberton, "Agones Hieroi. Greek Athletic Contests in Their Religious Context", *Nikephoros* 13 (2000), p. 111-123; S.G. Miller, *Ancient Greek Athletics*, New Haven, 2004.

105 U. Kenzler, *Studien zur Entwicklung und Struktur der griechischen Agora in archaischer und klassischer Zeit*, Frankfurt, 1999, p. 219-224.

106 I. Nielsen, *Cultic Theatres and Ritual Drama. A Study in Regional Development and Religious Interchange between East and West in Antiquity*, Aarhus, 2002 (*Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity*, 4); Th. Becker, *Griechische Stufenanlagen. Untersuchungen zur Architektur, Entwicklungsgeschichte, Funktion und Repräsentation*, Münster, 2003, p. 217-259.

107 Bookidis, Stroud, o.c. (n. 50), p. 433.

108 Bookidis, l.c. (n. 57), p. 50.

109 Becker, o.c. (n. 106), p. 237.

110 M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*, Paris, 1985, p. 172-179.

111 Nielsen, o.c. (n. 106), p. 108. The author even supposes – ignoring the archaeological evidence –, that the steps originally continued to the east.

112 Becker, o.c. (n. 106), p. 234.

113 The assumption that the door in the south wall of the cult building “diente unter Umständen nur zum Verlassen des Tempels” (Becker, o.c. [n. 106], p. 235 with note 1151) does appear rather simplistic.

114 On the cult and mythical connections of Demeter with Poseidon in the Peloponnessos cf. Mylonopoulos, o.c. (n. 39), p. 407-408.

115 Pausanias, VIII, 37, 9.

116 M. Jost, “Mystery Cults in Arcadia”, in M.B. Cosmopoulos (ed.), *Greek Mysteries. The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults*, London, 2003, p. 143-168.

117 C.H. Bohtz, *Das Demeterheiligtum*, Berlin, 1981 (*Altertümer von Pergamon*, XIII), p. 36-38. The excavator classifies the monumental stairway as belonging to his “Baustufe 3” [p. 57-58], which he regards as purely philetairic.

118 Thomas, l.c. (n. 59), p. 283-289.

119 H. Hepding, “Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1908-1909: II. Die Inschriften”, *MDAI(A)* 35 (1910), p. 437-438, n° 22: Φιλέταιρος καὶ Εὐμένης ὑπὲρ τῆς μη[τρὸς] Δήμητρι; p. 438, n° 23: Φιλέ | ταιρος καὶ Εὐμέ | νης ὑπὲρ τῆς μητ | ρὸς Δήμη | τρι.

120 Hepding, l.c. (n. 119), p. 439-442, n° 24: Βασιλίσσα Ἀπολλωνὶς Δήμητρι κ[αὶ] Κόρη Θεσμοφόροις | χαρισιήριον τὰς στοὰς καὶ τοὺς οἴκους.

121 Thomas, l.c. (n. 59), p. 289-295.

122 K. Lehmann, D. Spittle, *Samothrace 4, II: The Altar Court*, New York, 1964.

123 On the controversial issue whether Arrhidaios was indeed the financier of the ‘altar court’ or rather an unknown person under the name of Adaios see the recapitulatory remarks in K. Bklingmann, H. v. Steuben (eds), *Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an griechische Städte und Heiligtümer. Teil I: Zeugnisse und Kommentare*, Berlin, 1995, p. 261 KNr 233 [E].

124 F. Chapouthier et.al, “Le theatre de Samothrace”, *BCH* 80 (1956), p. 118-146.

125 Dymas: *IG XII* 8, p. 38. Herodes: F. Hiller von Gaertringen (ed.), *Inschriften von Priene*, Berlin, 1906, p. 66-68, n°s 68-70. A. Chaniotis, *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften. Epigraphische Beiträge zur griechischen Historiographie*, Stuttgart, 1988, p. 342-343 (Herodes), 345-346 (Dymas).

126 Nielsen, o.c. (n. 106), p. 134-136. Something similar is assumed for the so-called Hall of Choral Dancers (presumably the Telesterion). Very probably the wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia was shown to the *mystai* in this building in the form of a ritual drama, cf. K. Clinton, “Stages of Initiation in the Eleusinian and Samothracian Mysteries”, in Cosmopoulos (ed.), o.c. (n. 116), p. 67-70.

127 Ch. Bouras, *Ἡ ἀναστήλωση τῆς Στοᾶς τῆς Βραυρωνῶνος. Τὰ ἀρχιτεκτονικά της προβλήματα*, Athens, 1967 (AD, suppl. 11).

128 F. Bubenheimer, J. Mylonopoulos, “Die Stoa von Brauron. Gestalt und Funktion

der ältesten n-förmigen Säulenhalle in Griechenland”, in Bubenheimer *et al.*, o.c. (n. 45), p. 45-60.

129Ergon 1958, p. 37.

130 On the inexhaustible subject of the Brauronic Arkteia *cf. inter alia* P. Brulé, *La fille d'Athènes. La religion des filles à Athènes à l'époque classique. Mythes, cultes et société*, Paris, 1987, p. 225-261; Chr. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls' Transitions. Aspects of the Arkteia and Age Representation in Attic Iconography*, Athens, 1988; K. Waldner, “Kulträume von Frauen in der Antike: Das Beispiel der Artemis Brauronia”, in Th. SpAth, B. Wagner-Hasel (eds), *Frauenwelten in der Antike. Geschlechterordnung und weibliche Lebenspraxis*, Darmstadt, 2000, p. 53-81; Gentili – Perusino, o.c. (n. 45).

131Souda, s.v. Ἀριτος ἢ Βραυρωνίους (ed. ADLER I [1928], p. 361)

132 The interpretation of the marble statues of girls from Brauron (4th cent.) as *arktoi* is not such a matter of course as is frequently assumed, *cf.* most recently W. Burkert, s.v. “Initiation V. Pubertätsweihen B. Brauron und Verwandtes”, *ThesCRA* II (2004), p. 121, n° 255), for there are also statues of boys and small children which cannot be connected to the Arkteia, *cf.* P.G. Themelis, *Brauron. Führer durch das Heiligtum und das Museum*, Athen, 1971, p. 67-71.

133 L. Kahil, “Autour de l'Artémis attique”, *AK* 8 (1965), p. 20-33.

134 Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 645.

135Miller, o.c. (n. 104), p. 158.

136 L. Palaiokrassa, *Tò ierò tῆς Ἀρτέμιδος Μουνιχίας*, Athens, 1991.

137 E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica. An Archaeological Commentary*, Madison Wisc, 1983, p. 87-88; Th.F. Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics*, Oxford, 2002, p.139-174 also assumes a ritual mimesis of the aitiological myth of the Arkteia, but sees Kallisto and Arkas in the figures on the vase fragments mentioned (p. 154).

138L.Kahil, “l'Artémis de Brauron: rites et mystère”, *AK* 20 (1977), 92-93; Brulé o.c. (n. 130), p. 254.

139 One could even imagine that such a mimetic action was not only a part of the Arkteia, but also of the Brauronia, so that the aitiological myth of the Arkteia would additionally have been better shown to the male visitors of the sanctuary in a quasi-dramatic performance.

140 L. Kahil, “Quelques exemples de vases de mariage à Brauron”, in v. Ch. Petrakos (ed.), *Ἐπαινος Ἰωάννου Κ. Παπαδημητρίου*, Athens, 1997, p. 390-404 perceives, in the depictions on a fragmentarily preserved *lebes gamikos* from Brauron (4th cent., perhaps from the Stoa), the final phase of the initiation ritual, the festival prior to leaving the sanctuary, which, to judge from the scenes depicted, may have consisted at least partly of a ritual dance: on the foot of the vessel two young girls are shown dancing around a tripod (p. 393, fig. 21).

141 It would, for example, be extremely interesting to investigate the question of whether the representations of myths on Greek vases do not have – at least partly – their source of inspiration in such mimetic cult actions, *cf.* D. Metzler, “Einfluss der Pantomime auf die Vasenbilder des 6. und 5. Jhds. v. Chr.”, in C. BÉrard *et al.* (eds),

- Images et société en Grèce ancienne. L'icône-graphie comme méthode d'analyse. Actes du colloque international de Lausanne, 8-11 février 1984, Lausanne, 1987 (Cahiers d'archéol. romande, 36), p. 73-77.* Most examinations of intermediality (e.g. Giuliani, o. c. [n. 102]) concentrate on the mutual effect of the literary 'model' and visual media.
- 142** Bomer, L.C. (n. 16), col. 1886.
- 143** Ch. Tsochos, Πομπὰς πέμπειν. Prozessionen von der minoischen bis zur klassischen Zeit in Griechenland, Thessaloniki, 2002 [non vidi].
- 144** J. Bremmer, "Ritual", in S.I. Johnston (ed.), *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide*, Cambridge Mass., 2004, p. 39-41 [p. 39: "as pure show the procession of a Roman triumph was evidently far superior to a procession for a Greek sacrifice"].
- 145** Kuhn, L.C. (n. 42), p. 287-307.
- 146** G.C. Nordquist, "Instrumental Music in Representations of Greek Cult", in R. Hägg (ed.), *The Iconography of Greek Cult in the Archaic and Classical Period*, Liege, 1992 (*Kernos*, suppl. 1), p. 143-168. See also footnote 37.
- 147** Polyainos, V, 5: νόμῳ πομπῆς βαδίζοντες.
- 148** A. Kavoulaki, "Processional Performance and the Democratic Polis" in Goldhill - Osborne (eds), o.c. (n. 61), p. 293-320; ead., "The Ritual Performance of a Pompê: Aspects and Perspectives", in A. Serghidou (ed.), Δώρημα. A Tribute to the A.G. Leventis Foundation on the Occasion of Its 20th Anniversary, Nicosia, 2000, p. 145-158.
- 149** E.E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus*, Oxford, 1983; Ch. Wikander, "Pomp and Circumstance. The Procession of Ptolemaios II", *OpAth* 19 (1992), p. 143-150. Especially Wikander emphasises the importance of communication between the king, the crowd and the deities during the procession of Ptolemy II Philadelphos.
- 150** D. Wiles, *A Short History of Western Performance Space*, Cambridge, 2003, p. 69-71.
- 151** Athenaios, V, 196-203.
- 152** A. Chaniotis, "Sich selbst feiern? Städtische Feste des Hellenismus im Spannungsfeld von Religion und Politik", in M. Wörle, P. Zanker (eds), *Stadt und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus*, München, 1995 (*Vestigia*, 47), p. 162; id., "Theatricality beyond the Theater: Staging Public Life in the Hellenistic World", in B. Le Guen (ed.), *De la scène aux gradins. Théâtre et représentations dramatiques après Alexandre le Grand dans les cités hellénistiques. Actes du Colloque de Toulouse 1997*, Toulouse, 1998 (*Pallas*, 47), p. 247 with older literature.
- 153** F. Graf, "Pompai in Greece. Some Considerations about Space and Ritual in the Greek Polis", in Hägg (ed.), o.c. (n. 62), p. 55-65.
- 154** M. Dillon, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Ancient Greece*, London, 1997.
- 155** Graf, L.C. (n. 153), p. 61-64; N.D. Robertson, "The Two Processions to Eleusis and the Program of the Mysteries", *AJPh* 119 (1998), p. 547-575.
- 156** D. Peppas-Delmousou, "The Theoria of Brauron", in Hägg et al. (eds), o.c. (n. 9), p. 255-258.
- 157** J.M. Hall, "How Argive Was the 'Argive' Heraion? The Political and Cultic Geography of the Argive Plain, 900-400 B.C.", *AJA* 99 (1995), p. 592-606.

158 Mylonopoulos, o.c. (n. 39), p. 221, 314-315.

159 A. Herda, "Von Milet nach Didyma. Eine griechische Prozessionsstraße in archaischer Zeit", in Bubenheimer et al. (eds), o.c. (n. 4 5), p. 133-152; S. Georgoudi, "La procession chantante des Molpes de Milet", in P. Brulé, Chr. Vendries (eds), *Chanter les dieux. Musique et religion dans l'antiquité grecque et romaine. Actes du colloque des 16, 17 et 18 décembre 1999*, Rennes, 2001, p. 153-171.

160 S. Müller, "Der Ausgangspunkt der panathenäischen Prozession", in Bubenheimer et al. (eds), o.c. (n. 45), p. 153-164; J. Neils (ed.), *Worshipping Athena: Panathenaia and Parthenon*, Madison Wisc, 1996; L. Maurizio, "The Panathenaic Procession: Athens' Participatory Democracy on Display?", in D. Boedeker, K.A. Raaflaub (eds), *Democracy, Empire, and the Arts in Fifth-Century Athens*, Cambridge Mass., 1998, p. 297-317. M.E. de la Nuez Pérez, "Las Panateneas: topografía de una fiesta", *Gerión* 22 (2004), p. 101-120 has most recently argued quite persuasively that the Panathenaic procession fulfilled, among other things, the important function of conjoining all symbolically significant points in the topography of Athens.

161 On the various reconstructions of the course of this procession cf. *inter alia* H. Engelmann, "Philostrat und Ephesos", *ZPE* 108 (1995), p. 77-85; D. Knibbe, "Via Sacra Ephesiaca: New Aspects of the Cult of Artemis Ephesia", in H. Koester (ed.), *Ephesos Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Its Archaeology, Religion, and Culture*, Valley Forge, 1995, p. 141-155; *id.*, "Topographica Ephesiaca. Damianosstoa, Androklosgrab – Olympieion und Koressos", *JÖAI* 71 (2002), p. 207-219.

162 T. Hölscher, *Öffentliche Räume in frühen griechischen Städten*, Heidelberg, 1998.

163 Pausanias, V, 13-15.

164 Holscher, o.c. (n. 83), p. 336-338; Mylonopoulos, o.c. (n. 39), p. 136-140, 331-332.

165 Pindar, *Olympia* V, 10; Schol. Pind. *Ol.* V, 10c.

166 The arrangement of the divine couples does in fact seem nearly random. The only couple that makes sense with regard to an inner connection is Kronos and Rhea. Connecting Zeus and Hera, Poseidon and Athena, or Apollon and Artemis would certainly be more understandable. Clearly the Olympic double altars reveal a local Elean view of the divinities honoured, which is very different from the Panhellenic normative idea of these divine figures. Hölscher, o.c. (n. 83), p. 338 attempts to explain these pairings somewhat too confidently: "Zeus als Herrn des Heiligtums mit Poseidon, beide mit Beinamen Laoitas, Beschützer des männlichen (Krieger-) Volkes; Hera als Herrin der Altis mit Athena, die weiblichen Pendants der beiden männlichen Götter; Apollon und Hermes als Götter der athletischen männlichen Jugend; Dionysos und Chariten als Gottheiten der Festesfreude; Artemis und Alpheios als Mächte der naturhaften Umwelt; Kronos und Rhea als urtümliche Vorbesitzer des Ortes". But Zeus cannot be separated from his epiklesis (P. Brulé, "Le langage des épicleses dans le polythéisme hellénique (l'exemple de quelques divinités féminines)", *Kernos* 11 (1998), p. 19], and Zeus Laoitas was certainly not the major divinity of the sanctuary in Olympia. The question seems pertinent as to why

Athena of all goddesses should have been assigned to Poseidon, for, despite their close mythological relationship, these two divinities occur together in the Peloponnesos only in Arkadian Asea and in the Agora of Sparta. Demeter would be far more suitable for Poseidon on Peloponnesian soil. If one were to look for the protectors of athletic youth, Herakles and Hermes would occur to one far sooner than Apollon and Hermes. It would appear to be extremely unlikely that in the case of the Olympic double altars any sort of general statement (Dionysos = the joy of the festival, Artemis = nature) could help, as we must assume that here Pausanias mentions a kind of local 'theogony' which we cannot fully grasp, owing to the fragmentary situation of our sources. In my opinion, Strabo (VIII, 3, 12) indicates something of this, when he says that there had been a sacred grove of Artemis Alpheiona or Alpheiousa where the Alpheios enters the Sicilian sea.

167 Maurizio, o.c. (n. 160), p. 309-313.

168 V. Rosenberger, "Orakelsprüche und Weihgeschenke: Delphi als Kristallisationspunkt griechischer Identitäten", in von den Hoff, Schmidt (eds), o.c. (n. 67), p. 107-119.

169 W.R. Connor, "Tribes, Festivals and Processions; Civic Ceremonial and Political Manipulation in Archaic Greece", *JHS* 107 (1987), p. 46.

170 Xenophon Ephesios, *ephesiac.* I, 2, 2-3. cf. also Calame o.c. (n. 99), p. 93-96.

Ritual Dynamics in Pausanias: The Laphria

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Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge

Introduction

1

Since Robertson Smith's pioneering work *The Religion of the Semites* in eighteen eighty-nine, we have known that ritual is a specific concept and an indispensable tool for studying what he called 'antique religions'.

1

This statement, which may appear to be a truism for us, was quite a revolution when faith, beliefs, creeds, were still the main topics of interest in religious studies. Robertson Smith took a crucial step by placing religious practice in the context of long-term social traditions and disconnecting it from individual mental states. I quote a brief passage from his book:

Belief in a certain series of myths was neither obligatory as a part of true religion, nor was it supposed that, by believing, a man acquired religious merit and conciliated the favour of the gods. What was obligatory or meritorious was the exact performance of certain sacred acts prescribed by religious tradition...

2

Time has passed since Robertson Smith and his book, but the insights of the Cambridge School, with Frazer, Harrison, Cook, and the like, have deeply marked the study of rituals, and even Greek rituals, during the whole 20th century.

2

Burkert's work or even Versnel's would not have the same flavour without the English Anthropological School in the background. By connecting ritual with collectivity, Robertson Smith also prefigured the works of *l'École sociologique française*, on the one hand, and those of the British functionalist perspective on the other. Behaviour in the religious context was thereafter considered a source of meaning and an object of scientific investigation.

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3

But it is important to note that evolutionism, or 'primitivism', was the mental framework of many reflexions on comparative religion at this time, and deep into the 20th century. Primitivism supports the notion of fixity and rigidity in ritual behaviour and evaluates many religious actions of the historical period as relics of a past that cannot be reached in another way. Accordingly ritual has long been regarded as a kind of primitive action performed by more developed communities in order to maintain their religious traditions. Greece and Rome have not escaped these views, but recent work has shown that the matter was a bit more complicated.

4

Ritual behaviour is not simply synonymous with primitive action. Ritual is not necessarily a kind of prehistoric island in the ocean of historical and sophisticated societies. Ritual is a cultural and historical matter as much as any other human production and we have to consider at least the possibility of change during the course of time. So ritual dynamics points at the same time to the ritual's place and role in the society at a given time, and to the vitality and variability of its meanings in the course of time.

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In this perspective, Angelos Chaniotis has recently provided a very persuasive analysis of the Boiotian Daidala.

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He has shown the possible stratification of meanings and even actions of this festival. The puzzling complexity of the Daidala in the Roman period can only be explained in a historical perspective. This festival is not a kind of relic, henceforth unintelligible, which has passed through the years without changing. It is a cultural product that has adjusted itself to new conditions.

6

Pausanias' project

5

When we come to the Daidala, we inevitably meet Pausanias. I have just written that Burkert's and Versnel's flavour would not have been the same without the 'Cambridge Ritualists'. But we can wonder too if Frazer himself would have written the *Golden Bough* without Pausanias. Between eighteen-eighty and eighteen-ninety, when the first edition of *The Golden Bough* appeared,

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the *Periegesis*' commentary was at the centre of Frazer's work and interest. I quote Frazer himself: 'a work on which I have spent, well or ill, some of the best years of my life'.

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Pausanias' wide range of interests, his travels across Roman Greece and his focus on religious practice and mythical stories sound like an echo of Frazer's own preoccupations.

6

Pausanias' ten books are indeed a precious, and often irreplaceable, source for the study of Greek religion. In many aspects Pausanias is our sole informant; this explains why we find references to his text in so many publications that use it in a split way. I have myself taken Pausanias as a leading thread in my dissertation on the Greek Aphrodite, because a large part of our information on the cults of the goddess in mainland Greece is based on the *Periegesis*

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After this work was completed, I realized how necessary it was to take Pausanias' text as a whole. Pausanias is very interested in the religious and mythical material of the regions he visits. To rightly evaluate the reliability of his text as a source, it is essential to study this preoccupation for its own sake. The primacy of the religious evidence in the *Periegesis* is not a mere chance and the simple consequence of the author's peregrinations. It reflects something important in the work.

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7

Sanctuaries are the trails of the past in the landscape. They maintain continuity between past and present. That is the reason why the *Periegesis* has been written as a travel book on Greece without really

being – or becoming – a guidebook. Thanks to the sacred places, the landscape is deeply rooted in time and history. In the same way, the current rituals, still performed, are ascribed to the heroic period by the continuity of the cult practice, be it real or simply postulated.

8

The relevance of such evidence for Pausanias' project is connected with the polytheistic system of the Greeks, where Panhellenic unity balances local diversity. This variety, which stimulates the traveller's curiosity and attracts the reader's interest, illustrates the wealth of the ancient traditions and their roots in the soil.

9

The information given by Pausanias is not neutral and merely descriptive. The illusion of the objectivity of presentation must be definitively put aside and the split use of the text should be restrained. The religious elements in the *Periegesis* must be evaluated in their mutual relationships and confronted with the work's global project. I think that our vision of the religious elements in the *Periegesis* will be best balanced in this way.

11

For years, Pausanias' own religious predilections for archaic practice and stories have been consonant with the modern reader's primitivist point of view. As far as ritual was concerned, the evidence of the *Periegesis* was regarded as the trustworthy reflection of a long-term tradition. As religion is conservative *per se* and Pausanias' first interest was in ancient religious tradition, his text was automatically considered to be reliable evidence for archaic and classical Greek religion. But it is not that simple; I will try to demonstrate this with a dossier as rich as the Daidala evidence. My topic here is the Laphria performed each year at Patrae, at least at the time of Pausanias' visit.

The Laphria

The text

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The note on the Laphria is found in the seventh Book. At the beginning of Patrae's evocation, Pausanias' first concern is what he learnt from *oi ta archaiótata mnēmoneúontes*, "those who have kept the

memory of the most ancient things” (VII, 18, 2). He presents the mythical past of the city, with the three old *poleis* related to the stories of Triptolemus and Dionysos. Once the Ionians were expelled from the land by the Achaeans, the eponymous Patreus unified the three cities: Patrae was born. Then, Pausanias skips many centuries, quickly mentions Patrae’s misfortunes and closes this historical evocation with a reference to the city’s refoundation as a Roman colony by Augustus. The description of the city follows, and Pausanias opens his visit with the acropolis and the sanctuary of Artemis Laphria. Let us consider the text

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On the acropolis of Patrae is a sanctuary of Artemis Laphria. The name of the goddess is a foreign one, and her image too was brought in from elsewhere. For after Calydon with the rest of Aetolia had been laid waste by the Emperor Augustus in order that the Aetolian people might be incorporated into Nicopolis above Actium, the people of Patrae thus got the image of Laphria. (9) Most of the images out of Aetolia and from Acamania were brought by Augustus’ orders to Nicopolis, but to Patrae he gave, with other spoils from Calydon, the image of Laphria, which even in my time was still worshipped on the acropolis of Patrae. It is said that the goddess’ *epiklesis* was Laphria after a man of Phocis, because the ancient image of Artemis was set up at Calydon by Laphrius, the son of Castalius, the son of Delphus. (10) Others say that the wrath of Artemis against Oeneus weighed as time went on more lightly on the Calydonians, and they believe that this was why the goddess received her *epiklesis*. The image represents her in the guise of a huntress; it is made of ivory and gold, and the artists were Menaechmus and Soidas of Naupactus, who, it is inferred, lived not much later than Canachus of Sicyon and Callon of Aegina. (11) Every year too the people of Patrae celebrate the festival Laphria in honour of their Artemis...

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This kind of notice is very typical in the *Periegesis* and it adequately encapsulates Pausanias’ working method as far as religion is concerned.

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At first the localization: a sanctuary on the acropolis. Then the goddess’ characteristics: her name, Artemis Laphria, and her image. Here is the minimal identity card of a sanctuary. But this sanctuary is a historical product too: there follows the story of its implantation. In this case, the story is twofold: one contemporary with Augustus’

intervention in the country and one more ancient with the reference to Laphrius and Oeneus. Whatever the origin of the *epiklesis* may be – Pausanias does not decide between the versions – it is deeply rooted in what we call the mythical past of Greece. The visitor then displays his scholarship and makes a reference to art history that places the image in the archaic period.

12

Next come ritual and the manifestation of religious vitality in Patrae, ‘even in my time’. I would like to briefly comment on this expression, which is rather frequent when Pausanias wants to connect ‘the first time’ of the ritual action in the past, with his ‘own time’ *eti kai nun*, ‘still now’. That is what I mentioned before: this kind of reflexion maintains the idea of continuity between past and present. But in the case of Patrae and its Laphria festival, the link with the past is very different from other cases of *eti kai nun*, or *es erne eti*. We will immediately see why.

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(11) Every year too the people of Patrae celebrate the festival Laphria in honour of their Artemis, and at it they employ a method of sacrifice peculiar to the place. Round the altar in a circle they set up logs of wood still green, each of them sixteen cubits long. Inside on top of the altar lies the driest of their wood. At the time of the festival, they construct a smoother ascent to the altar by piling earth upon the altar steps. (12) The festival begins with a most splendid procession in honour of Artemis and the maiden officiating as priestess rides last in the procession upon a car yoked to deer. It is, however, not till the next day that the sacrifice is offered, and not only the city officially, but also the private individuals take part to the festival emulously. For the people throw alive onto the altar edible birds and victims of all kinds, and further wild boars, deer and gazelles; some bring even wolf and bear cubs, others even fully grown wild beasts. They also place on the altar fruit of cultivated trees. (13) Next they set fire to the wood. At this point I saw some of the beasts, including a bear, forcing their way outside at the first rush of the flames, some of them even escaping by their violence. But those who had thrown them in drive them back to the pyre. It is not remembered that anybody has ever been wounded by the beasts.

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This ritual has been extensively studied but modern studies can only use one source of information: Pausanias’ text in his seventh book. That is all.

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So I think it is necessary to tackle the problem from another angle, to have a more or less fresh look at this puzzling ritual. Even if it does not seem as complicated as the Daidala, the Laphria, as described by Pausanias, presents some strange features which require a new explanation. Let us consider each aspect of this ritual in turn.

The meaning of *epichōrios*

14

In the *Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique* on Greek sacrifice, held in Geneva in 1980, Walter Burkert asked, in the discussion following G. Piccaluga's paper

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(p. 287): “Heisst *epichōrios* ‘in lokaler tradition verwurzelt’ oder einfach ‘eine ihnen eigentümliche Art von Opfer’”, a particular mode of sacrifice? If we compare this use with the other occurrences of *epichōrios* in the *Periegesis*, *epichōrios* can mean both: the religious action is labelled ‘local’ because of its peculiarities.

17

So the sacrifice at Patrae is at one and the same time ‘local’ and ‘peculiar’, that means different from a ‘standard’ rule. It reflects the local level of the religious practice, compared to a normative Panhellenic consensus. It means that *epichōrios* does not necessarily point to an archaic ritual action, deeply rooted in a local tradition. This can be the case, but is not automatically so.

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When Pausanias insists on the immemorial tradition of a religious practice, he uses the epithet *archaios*. We have a good example in Olympia, when the visitor presents the monthly sacrifices on all the altars in the Altis. They sacrifice, he says, ‘in an ancient manner’ (V, 15, 10: θύουσι δὲ ἀρχαῖόν τινα τρόπον). They burn incense with wheat kneaded with honey on the altars, also placing on them twigs of olive, and using wine for libation, except for the Nymphs and for Despoina. In Pausanias’ own representation of the past, this sacrificial mode was the purest way to honour the gods.

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It reflects indeed his predilection in this matter. The Olympic sacrifice is not *epichōrios*. It simply echoes an ancient Greek tradition.

It is the relic of a primitive purity and close relationship with the gods.

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It is accordingly very difficult to assess the antiquity of this incredible ritual for Artemis Laphria: *epichōrios* does not give any chronological indication and Pausanias is our sole informant. But he delivers first-hand information: he attended the festival and he explicitly describes it, as we have seen. To evaluate the antiquity of this sacrifice, we cannot ignore the fact that Patrae was founded anew by Augustus and received Artemis' image with the spoils of Calydon. The festival is a good illustration of the problems involved in understanding ancient Greek religion and its 'ritual dynamics' through Pausanias text.

19

The sacrificial procedure

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Historians of Greek religion have often identified the Laphria festival at Patrae as a good example of so-called 'primitive sacrificial violence'.

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More or less consciously, the prehistoric mistress of the animals is always outlined behind this kind of 'Artemisiac' frenzy. And we fly over the centuries, or even thousands of years, to connect our source of information and the 'reality' it is supposed to reflect. The Laphria festival has thus been considered the best illustration of what we call, with a Greek word, a 'holocaust'. Nevertheless, even if we postulate the antiquity of this ritual, we have still to fill the chronological gap in order to explain the 'immemorial local roots' of this Imperial context. Many ingenious solutions have been proposed. Since the early 20th century, scholarship has provided three main hypotheses.

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First proposition: In the context of Artemis Laphria's cult at Calydon, the goddess' native country, such a ritual was already being performed, and Augustus transferred it to Patrae with the image.

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Second proposition: In the ancient city of Patrae, long before Augustus,

such a sacrificial ritual was already being performed in honour of Artemis Laphria, and this was revitalized by Augustus.

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Third and last proposition: The sacrificial ritual, the ‘holocaust’, was a part of another cult of Artemis, Artemis Triklaria, which was attested in Patrae from an early time; it was transferred to the cult of the goddess called Laphria once the Calydonian image was established on the acropolis.

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The first hypothesis supposes the performance of a so-called ‘holocaust’ in Calydon. But nothing in the Aetolian cult of Artemis Laphria supports this idea. Claudia Antonetti, in her thesis on the Aetolians’ religion, is very cautious and does not really agree with this hypothesis. Following the editors of the publication of the Danish-Greek excavations at Calydon, she rejects the view that the practices in the cult of Artemis at Patrae were derived from Calydon, for there is no trace of an altar large enough for holocausts such as Pausanias describes.

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Another argument can be put forward: if the ‘holocaust’ really was an essential element for the Calydonian cult of the Laphria, it would have been performed in the other cult of the Aetolian Laphria that is attested. At Messene, this cult was established by some Messenian exiles from Naupactus in Aetolia. But Pausanias, who is once more the one and only source of information, does not say anything about a holocaust. Let us examine the text. We are with Pausanias in the agora of Messene. He has just mentioned a noteworthy image of the Mother of the gods made by Damophon, the famous local sculptor, and goes on to speak about another work of Damophon:

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By Damophon too is the so-called Laphria at Messene. The cult came to be established among them in the following way. Among the people of Calydon, Artemis, who was worshipped above all the gods, had the *epiklesis* Laphria; and the Messenians, who received Naupactus from the Athenians, being at that time close neighbours of the Aetolians, adopted her from the people of Calydon. I will describe her appearance in another place. The name of Laphria spread only to the Messenians and to the Achaeans of Patrae.

Nothing is said about a sacrifice or any cult peculiarities. When Pausanias postpones the description of Laphria's image, he does announce the seventh book. But only the *schêma*, and not the ritual itself, is put off for the time being. Another point deserves attention at the same place: one paragraph further, Pausanias mentions a temple and an image of Ilithyia. And then:

26

Near it, there is a *megaron* of the Kouretes, where they make burnt offerings of every kind of living creature: they begin with cattle and goats, and end with birds, throwing all of them into the flames. There is also a holy sanctuary of Demeter at Messene...

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Here is a 'holocaust', but not for Artemis Laphria. We can presume that Pausanias would have made a link between both rituals if the Messenian Laphria had received such a sacrifice. This link would have been all the more probable, because he makes an implicit cross-reference to the description of Patrae and its Laphria. In this case, the argument *ex silentio* seems to be valid. I will come back soon to this Messenian sacrifice to the Kouretes.

25

Another argument supporting the first hypothesis, which puts the huge Laphrian sacrifice in the Aetolian homeland of the goddess, is connected with the story of the so-called "Phocian despair". According to Pausanias (X, 1, 7-9), it is one of the most famous passages in the general history of the Phocians after the Trojan and the Persian wars! The Thessalians have taken the field against the Phocian cities. After an obscure Apollonian oracle, some Phocians are defeated and the situation becomes desperate. They decide to gather their women and children, all their movable property, their clothes, their gold and silver, and the images of their gods. Thirty men are left in charge to put the women and children to the sword, then place them and the valuables on a vast pyre made in advance, to set the fire and kill themselves just after, if the Phocian army is defeated by the Thessalians. Having in their mind's eye the fate they were reserving to their women and children, the Phocians were so courageous on the battlefield that they won the most glorious victory of the age. Plutarch adds another piece of information: each year at Hyampolis, a festival for Artemis Elaphebolia commemorated this victory.

In considering such a dossier, Nilsson, and others after him,

have seen in the Phocian despair an aetiological myth explaining a ritual similar to the Laphrian holocaust. And the next step was easy to take: Artemis Elaphebolia in Phocis could be the same goddess as Artemis Laphria in Aetolia; both goddesses are honoured by holocausts, and this assimilation supports the Calydonian origin of the *epichōrios* sacrifice at Patrae.

Once again, it is not that simple to regard the Phocian despair as an aetiological myth. The story has been carefully studied by Pierre Ellinger in his thesis on *Artémis et les récits de guerre d'anéantissement*.

He has shown that it is audacious to base the argument on the Phocian despair story to recreate a supposed ritual in Hyampolis. Moreover, the assimilation between Artemis Elaphebolia and Artemis Laphria seems to be very weak. One piece of evidence can nevertheless be produced and will be discussed briefly.

A four-line inscription found at Hyampolis is a dedication of an agono-thetes, dated by Dittenberger back to the time of Caesar or Augustus (Ist century BC):

(X, son of X...) has consecrated at his own expense to (...) and to the city, having been twice agonothes of the Great Kaisareia and of the Great Elaphebolia and Laphria, games of which the one and the first he introduced and celebrated at his own expense.

Ellinger argues that the Great Elaphebolia and Laphria are one: a double name for one and the same festival. But he is conscious that the notion of introduction in this inscription is problematic. Michel Sève, who studies the inscription in Ellinger's book, argues that the introduction is only related to the Megala Kaisareia, and the celebration concerns the Elaphebolia-Laphria, because: "personne ne peut supposer sérieusement que les Elaphebolia-Laphria n'auraient été créés qu'à l'époque impériale".

For W.K. Pritchett, who also studied this inscription, Laphria and

Elaphebolia are two distinct festivals at Hyampolis, the first for Apollo Laphrios, and the second for Artemis Elaphebolia. The text could reflect some reorganization or reinstitution of the festivals at Hyampolis in Roman times, as attested in other examples, like the Ptoia at Akraiphia in Boiotia (SEG 32, 439). Pritchett's scenario is the following: after Kalapodi was levelled by Sylla, and the Elaphebolia and Laphria lapsed for a considerable number of years, these two festivals were reinstated at Hyampolis, where the stone was found, and a third festival was added in honour of the Roman benefactors.

33

I follow Pritchett's hypothesis in one point: the Elaphebolia and the Laphria are two distinct festivals. In the present instance, this inscription does not support the hypothesis that the cult of Artemis Elaphebolia and Artemis Laphria were the same.

29

However that may be, the first hypothesis finds no real support in the collected evidence.

30

Let us turn to the second hypothesis, *i.e.* in the ancient city of Patrae, long before Augustus, such a sacrificial ritual was performed in honour of Artemis Laphria and revitalized by Augustus. This proposition must immediately be rejected, because we know nothing of any such cult before the Roman period. Secondly, it implies an ancient cult transfer from Calydon, with the holocaust ritual. That means we have to build this second doubtful hypothesis on the first proposition, which is not reliable either.

31

The third proposition deserves more attention. It supposes that the sacrificial ritual, the 'holocaust' formed a part of the cult of another Artemis, attested in Patrae from an early time, Artemis Triklaria, and was transferred to the cult of the goddess called Laphria when the Calydonian image had been established on the acropolis.

32

Just after his description of the Laphrian ritual, Pausanias comes back to the topography of the acropolis and mentions the tomb of Eurypylos. When this man arrived in the country, says Pausanias, the wrath of the goddess Artemis was so heavy on the local Ionians who visited her sanctuary that they had to offer a human sacrifice each

year to satisfy the goddess surnamed Triklaria. Pausanias likes love stories and we learn that the virgin priestess of Artemis and her lover had transformed the goddess' sanctuary into a wedding-chamber, as he says. "Pitiable, indeed, was the fate of the innocent youths and maidens who perished on account of Melanippus and Comaetho, and pitiable too the lot of their kinsfolk. But the lovers, I take it, were beyond the reach of sorrow; for human beings alone, better is it than life itself to love and to be loved" (VII, 19, 5).

33

The inhabitants had received an oracle from Delphi: a foreign king (ξενικὸς βασιλεὺς ξένος) would come to their land bringing a foreign *daimôn* (ξενικὸς δαίμων) with him, and would stop the sacrifices to the Triklaria. This man was Eurypylus. Coming back from Troy, where he went out of his mind because of an image of Dionysus, he was travelling with a chest containing the image. He had received an oracle too: wherever he found people offering a foreign or strange sacrifice (θυσίαν ξένην), he would set down the chest and stop his wanderings. Once the three foreign peculiarities come together, the happy end occurs: the mental disorder of Eurypylus and the local sacrifice are both ended. And each year, Eurypylus receives an *enagismos*, a so-called "chtho-nian sacrifice" as a hero, at the time when the inhabitants celebrate the festival of Dionysus.

34

34

These two cults, for Artemis on the one hand, and for Dionysus on the other, are said to be very ancient, closely related, in the vision of the past given at Patrae.

35

The tomb of Eurypylus is situated on the acropolis, but Pausanias localized both sanctuaries, Artemis Triklaria and Dionysus Aisymnetes, in the *chôra*, outside the city of Patrae. So, if we imagine that the holocaust offered to Artemis Laphria on the acropolis was first offered to Artemis Triklaria, we have to suppose – and some have done so – that the goddess had a sanctuary on the acropolis too, or that a huge sacrifice was offered in the *chôra* before Imperial times. The proposition of associating the Laphrian holocaust to the ancestral cult of the Triklaria has been argued by Massimo Osanna. He proposed to connect the sacrificial ideology of the holocaust with

the initiatic background of the aetiological myth of the human sacrifice. Accordingly, Augustus would have reorganized the cults on the acropolis of Patrae bringing the Calydonian Laphria exactly as Eurypylus, coming from Delphi, had brought Dionysos and restored civic harmony. In this manner, the holocaust for Artemis would be more ancient than the arrival of the Laphria, and *epichōrios* would mean 'local' and 'ancient'.

36

35

Another scholar, Yves Lafond, the editor of Pausanias' seventh book in the *Collection des Universités de France*, following a perspective very close to Osanna's, has proposed connecting the holocaust with another local cult of Artemis, also known by Pausanias. Artemis, called Limnatis, was supposed to have been brought from Laconia by Preuges, the father of Patreus.

37

In the Imperial ideology, Augustus was considered as a new founder. This conception would have been supported by the assimilation between Augustus, Preuges and Patreus, and with an image coming from outside, Dionysus on the one hand, Artemis on the other.

38

Moreover, the cruel Artemis of Patrae is very familiar to the readers of the third book of the *Periegesis*: The mythical and ritual context of Artemis Orthia' cult in Sparta was also connected with madness, a mighty statue coming from abroad, blood, human sacrifice, and ritual transformation.

39

The mythical pattern of Orthia closely recalls what is said at Patrae about Artemis Triklaria and Dionysus Aisymnetes.

36

This comparison paves the way to a solution in the interpretation of the so-called holocaust. It has been argued that the bloody show of the Orthia ritual at Sparta was an Imperial reconstruction, supposed to reflect the ancient city ruled by Lycurgus. The ephebic flagellation was put on stage in a 'tourist' perspective, in accordance with Roman sensibility. The violence displayed in this context had the flavour of antiquity and was in accordance with the taste for spectacular shows. With all these ideas in hand, let us turn again to the ritual of Patrae.

37

Massimo Osanna and Yves Lafond have both adequately presented the political and religious reorganization of Patrae by Augustus. Both have noticed the problem posed by the strange ritual of the Laphria, without following the idea to its ultimate conclusion, which I will try to do now.

38

First, the chronological problem. Pausanias was in Patrae some hundred and fifty years after the creation of the Colonia Augusta.

40

The transfer of the Calydonian image was no longer a current concern in any sense of the word. If the sacrifice had been performed each year since this transfer, it was a tradition of many years' standing when Pausanias visited the town. Secondly, there is the question of the nature of the sacrifice. What was really done each year on the acropolis of Patrae? Why did Pausanias call the sacrifice *epichōrios*? I have shown that the chronology is a problem in this case. But the very nature of this sacrifice is another problem, even much greater, notably because the animals are not ritually killed before being burnt as in the other sacrifices of this type presented by Pausanias. Let us consider the two examples at hand, which could eventually be recognized as a 'holocaust' for gods, even if Pausanias does not use the term – and in no other place in the *Periegesis*.

- At Messene, as we have seen before, all kinds of animals are sacrificed to the Kouretes, oxen, goats and birds, thrown into the flames. The structure is a *megaron*, and we can postulate the ritual killing of the animals before being thrown into the flames. A holocaust is performed, that means a normal sacrificial procedure followed by the integral destruction of the victims.
- At Plataia, during the *Daidala*, many victims are burnt too:

41

On the peak of the mountain an altar has been prepared, which they make in the following way. They fit together quadrangular pieces of wood, putting them together just as if they were making a stone building, and having raised it to a height they place brushwood upon the altar. The cities with their magistrates sacrifice a cow to Hera and a bull to Zeus, burning on the altar the victims, full of wine and incense, along with the *Daidala*. Rich people, as individuals, sacrifice what they wish; but the less wealthy sacrifice the smaller cattle; all the victims alike are burnt. The fire seizes the altar and the victims as

well, and consumes them all together. I know of no blaze that is so high, or seen so far as this.

39

Here the sacrificial procedure is quite sophisticated, and can be reconstituted as follows: the victims offered by the cities are ritually killed, their entrails, *splanchna*, having perhaps to be set apart and substituted by wine and incense. At a private level, we can postulate a normal sacrificial procedure for the animal killing and then integral destruction.

40

In both examples, animals have to be killed before the '*kathagizein*', using Pausanias' own word. At Patrae, all the animals are still alive when the fire is set. Secondly, at Messene or at Plataia, domestic animals are sacrificed, as in most cases in Greece or even in Rome. At Patrae, Pausanias mentions every kind of victim, but has obviously been impressed by wild animals such as boar, deer, and gazelle, wolves or bears. If this is a sacrifice, it looks rather strange.

41

Looking for Greek parallels

42

, we can only pick out a piece of evidence from Xenophon's *Anabasis*, when he speaks about his estate at Scillus, near Olympia. He idyllically describes his estate and the sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia funded by booty from his Asiatic adventures:

43

Here he built an altar and a temple with the sacred money, and from that time forth he would every year take the tithe of the products of the land in their season and offer sacrifice to the goddess, all the citizens and the men and women of the neighbourhood taking part in the festival. And the goddess would provide for the banqueters barley meal and loaves of bread, wine and sweetmeats, and a portion of the sacrificial victims from the sacred herd as well as of the victims taken in the chase. For Xenophon's sons and the sons of the other citizens used to have a hunting expedition at the time of the festival, and any grown men who so wished would join them; and they captured their game partly from the sacred precinct itself and partly from Mount Pholöe – boars and gazelles and stags.

42

This agrarian and pastoral festival is a feast for the whole neighbourhood. Each participant partakes of the meal provided by the sacrificial victims on the one hand, by the animals shot during the

hunt on the other. The text is very clear: τῶν θυομένων on the one hand, τῶν θηρευομένων, on the other. Artemis is a huntress, as we all know, and she is concerned with this typically male activity. She usually received the tithe of each hunt, whether the head, horns, teeth, skin or feet.

44

But wild animals, caught during the hunting expedition, were not ritually killed as domestic ones were.

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In Xenophon's case, we have a ritual on the one hand, and an athletic achievement on the other, both under the protection of Artemis the huntress goddess.

43

In Patrae, Pausanias' description of the Laphria presents analogies with what has just been mentioned, but it also presents deep differences. Firstly, the analogies: cattle and hunting activity are present in both cases. Artemis' functions are identical too; she is concerned at the same time with cattle and with wild animals. Secondly, the differences: at Scillus, the agrarian dimension of the festival is well illustrated, much more so than at Patrae, where Pausanias only mentions the fruits of cultivated trees. Next, at Patrae all kinds of victims, still alive, are destroyed by fire.

44

Let us recapitulate the main characteristics of the Laphria:

- a great propensity for gathering victims (φιλοτιμῶς);
- the extent of the hunt, which is the first step of this ritual;
- the large cost of this operation, which did not seem to suppose any return for the participants as food to bring home or to eat on the spot;
- the miscellany of victims, where wild animals seem predominant;
- the Imperial date of our single piece of evidence.

45

All these peculiarities call for an elucidation, because this ritual is quite exceptional in the evidence at hand, be it literary or epigraphical. Quoting Angelos Chaniotis once more, we can argue that "festivals known primarily or exclusively from late sources are the result of the natural and unavoidable tensions and conflicts

between an inherently conservative element on the one hand and a very dynamic element on the other: between ritual actions, which have to be performed in a particular way, and the continually changing community of performers, participants, and receptors or spectators”.

46

As far as the festival of the Laphria is concerned, we can even go farther in that direction. The simplest and most suitable explanation does not place the sacrifice's origin at Calydon, it does not suppose the antiquity of the cult in honour of Artemis Laphria at Patrae, and it does not attribute this huge ritual to the Triklaria or to the Limnatis. This simplest and most suitable explanation sees in this ritual an Augustan reconstruction, which perfectly fits the profile of Diana-Artemis, the huntress-goddess, for the Greeks and for the Romans. It was perfectly in accordance with the violent Roman shows and the taste for presumed antiquity.

46

Indeed, at Patrae, the ‘community of performers, participants, and receptors or spectators’ was deeply changed when the Colonia Augusta was created, the time when Laphria's image was brought from Calydon. Let us recall that the early Colonia Augusta was a veterans' colony. The soldiers who fought at Actium were the first settlers of the colony, with some people of the neighbouring Achaean towns. The relationship between Roman soldiers and Diana are well attested,

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and a military dedication to the Diana of Patrae has been discovered at Aquincum on the Danube.

48

Moreover, it was necessary for reasons of community cohesion to associate the inhabitants of the new city with a common religious manifestation.

49

Its historical background was outside the new city (the Laphria coming from Calydon), but deeply rooted in Roman military devotion as much as in the rich Artemisiac past of the Greek city of Patrae. These public festivities promoted reciprocal emulation and physical strength, two essential components of Pausanias' description.

47

Another point to emphasize is the close association between the cult of Artemis Laphria at Patrae and the Augustan Imperial cult in the city. One inscription is very clear. We learn that the young priestess of Diana Augusta Laphria was in charge of the cult of Augustus too.

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As Augustan ideology was closely related to Apollo, this cultic association with the god's twin sister could have had some symbolic importance for the *imperator*.

51

We do not really know how this Imperial cult evolved in the course of time at the civic level in Patras. Nevertheless the colony's religious history was deeply linked with its Augustean refoundation around Diana-Artemis. The connection between Diana and the *autokrator* was probably still alive when Pausanias arrived at Patras.

48

In this specific context, Pausanias' use of the term *epichōrios* perfectly fits the peculiarities of the sacrificial procedure, but does not necessarily root the ritual practice deeply in the past. In the particular conceptual framework peculiar to the *Periegesis*, the cult of Artemis Laphria sounds perfectly Greek and Greek only. Pausanias does not say anything of the probable goddess' association with the Imperial cult, which was certainly obvious in the topography of the acropolis of Patrae or even in Artemis' sanctuary. The ideological bias of Pausanias' work is here clearly attested.

52

Conclusion

49

In his impressive book on *Greek Religion*, Walter Burkert presents what he calls fire rituals. He first speaks about the ritual use of fire in general and comes then to the festivals, which, he infers, "are wholly defined by the destructive power of fire" and are "extravagantly costly". "The most detailed account of a festival of this kind", he continues, "is the one – admittedly from Imperial times – which Pausanias gives of the festival of Laphria at Patrae." After quoting the text, he concludes with relevance: "The sanctuary becomes an amphitheatre".

53

W. Burkert noticed the problem of this ritual, but without pursuing his idea to its ultimate conclusion. For him, Patrae's festival is a kind of prehistoric relic coming from Calydon, "clearly related to the Elaphebolia of Artemis of Hyampolis and the festival of the Kouretes in Messene", as he concludes on this point.

50

The present reconstruction hypothesis does not ignore the real Artemisiac background of this sort of tithe, offered each year to the goddess. Nevertheless, this analysis tries to challenge the *communis opinio* of the necessarily long-term tradition of the rituals documented in the Imperial period. The notion of ritual dynamics perfectly fits this perspective. The Laphria confront us with the coexistence of different levels: at a first level, the tithe offered to Artemis, a common ritual with cattle sacrifice, first-fruits offerings and parts of victims shot in hunting; at another level, assuming the new Roman influence, the transfer of Laphria's image created a festive and spectacular performance in the colony. What has been very often regarded as the best known example of a 'holocaust' in Greece seems to be something new. The example of the gladiatorial games and animal fights could be illuminating in this respect. As S. Price wrote several years ago: "They became very popular in the Greek world under the empire, [and they] were put on almost exclusively in connection with the imperial cult. But it would be wrong to imagine that this fact shows that imperial festivals were strongly Roman in flavour and out of keeping with traditional festivals".

54

This kind of complex reconstruction was certainly at the source of the so-called 'Patrean holocaust': something not entirely Greek or strictly Roman but an innovative experience remodelled on different traditions, with a deep sense of competition and physical strength. Two last examples will support this point of view.

51

A Swedish scholar, Gunnel Ekroth, has recently published her thesis about the sacrificial rituals of Greek hero-cults.

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She has convincingly shown that the common picture of these rituals in modern scholarly literature, dividing it into an olympian and a

chthonian sphere, largely depends on Roman literary sources or lexicographers. With a careful study of the epigraphical and archaeological classical evidence, she has firmly established that our vision of the Greek heroic sacrificial ritual has been deeply influenced by some scholarly reconstructions of the Roman period, themselves influenced by some Homeric literary descriptions (when Odysseus consults the shade of Teiresias, for example). As far as the notions of *holokautos* sacrifice or *enagismos* are concerned, the Classical period does not offer as many examples as could be inferred from reading Pausanias. The second example is located at Corinth, another Roman colony visited by Pausanias several years after its refoundation. There, as Marcel Piérart has shown, the cult of Melikertes-Palaimon on the Isthmus was a scholarly reconstruction in the colony.

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The available evidence for the Laphria at Patrae must be challenged, as Wilamowitz already felt seventy years ago.

57

In this case, the documentation makes such an investigation possible. Other rituals, only attested by Pausanias, would surely have to be challenged in the same way. Who could really tell how old the strange ritual is, which was performed each year in summertime at Hermion in Argolid?

58

The goddess Demeter is here called Chthonia and her festival Chthonia. Pausanias' description is very similar to that of the Laphria. First, the careful description of those who attend the procession; then the sacrificial victims, four fully-grown cows, which are hurried into the temple one after the other. Each one is killed behind the doors by four old women using a sickle to cut the beast's throat. There is a last peculiarity: on whichever side the first cow falls, all the others must fall the same way. Ritual dynamics have certainly played a role in the history of this type of sacrifice. But in this case, our evidence is too scanty for such an analysis.

Notes

- 1W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, London, 1894 [1889], p. 17-18 (<http://www.cwru.edu/univlib/preserve/Etana/Lectures/l.pdf>).
- 2Cf. R. Ackerman, *The Myth and Ritual School: J.G. Frazer and the Cambridge Ritualists*, New York/London, 1991.
- 3 B. Boudewijnse, "British Roots of the Concept of Ritual", in A.L. Molendijk, P. Pels (eds), *Religion in the Making*, Leiden, 1998 (*Studies in the History of Religions*, 80), p. 277-295.
- 4E.g. M. LINDER, J. Scheid, "Quand croire c'est faire. Le problème de la croyance dans la Rome ancienne", *ASSR* 81 (1993), p. 47-62; J.-L. Durand, J. Scheid, "'Rites' et 'religion'. Remarques sur certains préjugés des historiens de la religion des Grecs et des Romains", *ASSR* 85 (1994), p. 23-44; J. Scheid, *Quand faire, c'est croire. Les rites sacrificiels des Romains*, Paris, 2005.
- 5 A. Chaniotis, "Ritual Dynamics: the Boiotian Festival of the Daidala", in H.F.J. Horstmanns-hoff, H.W. Singor, F.T. Van Straten, J.H.M. Strubbe (eds), *Kykeon. Studies in Honour of H.S. Versnel*, Leiden, 2002 (*RGRW*, 142), p. 23-48. Now, see also S. Humphreys, *The Strangeness of Gods*, Oxford, 2004, chap. 6: "Metamorphoses of Tradition: the Athenian Anthesteria".
- 6 Another recent point of view on this ritual: D. Knoepfler, "La fête des Daidala de Platées chez Pausanias; une clef pour l'histoire de la Béotie hellénistique", in D. Knoepfler, M. Piérart (eds), *Editor, traduire, commenter Pausanias en Van 2000*, Genève, 2001 (*Recueil de travaux publiés par la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Neuchâtel*, 49), p. 343-374.
- 7 J.G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough. A Study in Magic and Religion*, 2 vols, London, 1890 [third edition between 1911 and 1915, in twelve volumes].
- 8 J.G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece I*, London, 1897, p. VIII. Chr. Auffarth, "Verräter – Übersetzer"?: Pausanias, das römische Patrai und die Identität der Griechen in der Achaea", in H. Cancik, J. Rupke (eds), *Römische Reichsreligion und Provinzialreligion*, Tübingen, 1997, p. 219-238, esp. p. 225, sees Pausanias as an *Ur-Frazer*.
- 9 V. Pirenne-Delforge, *L'Aphrodite grecque*, Athens/Liège, 1994 (*Kernos*, suppl. 4).
- 10 Recently, interest on Pausanias *per se* has considerably increased: e.g. the introduction by D. MUSTI, in *Pausania. Guida della Grecia. libro I: L'Attica*, Napoli, 19872 [1982]; Chr. Habicht, *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece*, Berkeley, 19992 [1985]; J. Elsner, "Pausanias: a Greek Pilgrim in the Roman World", *Past & Present* 135 (1992), p. 3-29; K.W. Arafat, *Pausanias' Greece*, Cambridge, 1996; J. Bingen (ed.), *Pausanias historien*, Vandoeuvres/Genève, 1996 (*Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique*, 41); V. Pirenne-Delforge (eds), *Les panthéons des cités grecques, des origines à la Périégèse de Pausanias*, Liège, 1998 (*Kernos*, suppl. 8); S. Alcock, J. Cherry, J. Elsner (eds), *Pausanias. Travel and Memory*, Oxford, 2001; D. Knoepfler, M. Piérart (eds), o.c. (n. 6); P. Ellinger, *La fin des maux. D'un Pausanias à l'autre. Essai de mythologie et d'histoire*, Paris, 2005; J. Akujärvi, *Researcher, Traveller, Narrator. Studies in Pausanias' Periegesis*, Stockholm,

2005 (*Studia Graeca et Latina Lundensia*, 12); W.R. Hutton, *Describing Greece. Landscape and Literature in the Periegesis of Pausanias*, Cambridge, 2005 (*Greek Culture in the Roman World*), and so many papers recently published in journals...

11 A larger study on this subject will be published under the title: *Retour à la source. Pausanias et la religion grecque*. Cf. S.E. Alcock, "Pausanias and the Polis. Use and Abuse", in M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State. Symposium August, 24-27 1994, Copenhagen, 1995 (Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre, 2)*, p. 326-344, esp. p. 326-329.

12 Pausanias, VII, 18, 8-13 (transl. adapted from W.H.S. Jones, Loeb Classical Library): (8) Πατρεῦσι δὲ ἐν ἁκρᾷ τῇ πόλει Λαφρίας ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος ξενικὸν μὲν τῇ θεῷ τὸ ὄνομα, ἐσηγμένον δὲ ἐτέρωθεν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα. Καλυδῶνος γὰρ καὶ Αἰτωλίας τῆς ἄλλης ὑπὸ Αὐγούστου βασιλέως ἐρμημθείσης διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐς τὴν Νικιόπολιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀκτίου συνοικίζεσθαι καὶ τὸ Αἰτωλικόν, οὕτω τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Λαφρίας οἱ Πατρεῖς ἔσχον. (9) ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀγάλματα ἔκ τε Αἰτωλίας καὶ παρὰ Ἀκαρνάνων, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐς τὴν Νικίπολιν νομισθῆναι, Πατρεῦσι δὲ ὁ Αὐγουστος ἄλλα τε τῶν ἐκ Καλυδῶνος λαφύρων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς Λαφρίας ἔδωκε τὸ ἄγαλμα, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῇ Πατρίων εἶχε τιμάς. Γενέσθαι δὲ ἐπικλήσιν τῇ θεῷ Λαφρίαν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Φωκίως φασὶ Λάφριον γὰρ τὸν Κασταλίου τοῦ Δελφοῦ Καλυδωνίους ιδρύσασθαι τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸ ἀρχαῖον, (10) οἱ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸ μῆνιμα τὸ ἐς Οἰνέα ἀνὰ χρόνον τοῖς Καλυδωνίοις ἐλαφρότερον γενέσθαι λέγουσι καὶ αἰτίαν τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ἐθέλουσιν εἶναι ταύτην. τὸ μὲν σχῆμα τοῦ ἀλάλματος θηρεύουσά ἐστιν, ἐλέφαντος δὲ καὶ χρυσοῦ πεποιήται, Ναυπάντιοι δὲ Μέναιχμος καὶ Σοῖδας εἰργάσαντο τεκμαίρονται σφᾶς Κανάχου τοῦ Σικυωνίου καὶ τοῦ Αἰγινήτου Κάλλωνος οὐ πολλῶ γενέσθαι τινὶ ἡλικίαν ὑστέρους.

13 On this point, cf. Pirenne-Delforge, *l.c.* (n. 1), and the work *Retour à la source...* (n. 11).

14 Pausanias, VII, 18, 11-13: ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ Λάφρια ἐορτὴν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι οἱ Πατρεῖς ἀνὰ ἔτος, ἐν ᾗ τρόπος ἐπιχώριος θυσίας ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς. περὶ μὲν τὸν βωμὸν ἐν κύκλῳ ξύλα ἰσθᾶσιν ἔτι χλωρὰ καὶ ἐς ἐκκαίδεκα ἑκαστον πῆγεις ἐντὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὰ αὐτότατά σφισι τῶν ξύλων νεῖται. μηχανῶνται δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐορτῆς καὶ ἄνοδον ἐπὶ βωμὸν λειοτέραν, ἐπιφέροντες γῆν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοὺς ἀναβασμούς. (12) πρῶτα μὲν δὴ πομὴν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι πομπεύουσι, καὶ ἡ ἱερωμένη παρθένος ὀχεῖται τελευταία τῆς πομπῆς ἐπὶ ἐλάφῳ ὑπὸ ἄρμα ἐξευγμένων ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν τηνικαῦτα ἤδη δρᾶν τὰ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν νομίζουσι, δημοσίᾳ τε ἡ πόλις καὶ οὐχ ἥσσον ἐς τὴν ἐορτὴν οἱ ἰδιῶται φιλοτίμως ἔχουσιν. ἐσβάλλουσι γαζῶντας ἐς τὸν βωμὸν ὄρνιθας τε τοὺς ἐδωδίμους καὶ ἱερεῖα ὁμοίως ἅπαντα, ἔτι δὲ ὕς ἀγρίους καὶ ἐλάφους τε καὶ δορκάδας, οἱ δὲ καὶ λύκων καὶ ἄρκτων σκύμνους, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ τέλεια τῶν θηρίων κατατιθέασιν

δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ δένδρων καρπὸν τῶν ἡμέρων. (13) τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτου τῦρ ἐνιαῖσιν ἐς τὰ ξύλα. ἐνταῦθά που καὶ ἄριτον καὶ ἄλλο τι ἐθεασάμην τῶν ζώων, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῇν πρώτην ὁρμὴν τοῦ πυρὸς βιαζὸς βιαζόμενα ἐς τὸ ἐντός, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐμφεύγοντα ὑπὸ ἰσχύος ταῦτα οἱ ἐμβαλόντες ἐπανάγουσιν αὐθις ἐς τὴν πυράν. τρωθῆναι δὲ οὐδένα ὑπὸ <τῶν> θηρίων μνημονεύουσιν.

15 M.P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 218-225; *id.*, “Fire Festivals in Ancient Greece”, *JHS* 43 (1923), p. 144-148; J. Herbillon, *Les cultes de Patras*, Baltimore, 1929, p. 55-74; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* I, Berlin, 1931, p. 381-386; L. Bodson, *Τερὰ ζῶα. Contribution d l'étude de la place de l'animal dans la religion grecque ancienne*, Bruxelles, 1978, p. 127-128; G. Piccaluga, “L'olocausto di Patrai”, in *Le sacrifice dans l'Antiquité*, Vandoeuvres-Genève, 1981 (*Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique*, 27), p. 243-277; J.-P. Vernant, *Annuaire du collège de France. Résumé des cours et travaux*, 81, 1980/1, esp. p. 397-398; W.D. Furley, *Studies in the use of fire in ancient Greek religion*, New York, 1981, p. 116-151 (“The Rites of Artemis at Patrae”); P. Ellinger, *La légende nationale phocidienne. Artémis, les situations extrêmes et les récits de guerre d'anéantissement*, Paris, 1993 (*BCH*, suppl. 27), p. 240-246; A. Petropoulou, “The Laphrian holocaust at Patrai and its Celtic parallel. A ritual with Indo-European components?”, *Religio graeco-romana. Festschrift für W. Pötscher*, Graz, 1993 (*GB*, suppl. 5), p. 313-334; M. Osanna, *Santuari e culti dell'Acaia antica*, Perugia, 1996, p. 142-149; Y. Lafond, “Artémis en Achaïe”, *REG* 104 (1991), p. 410-433, esp. p. 424-427. On the name “Laphria”, see E. Lepore, “Epititi à divinità plurime: Artemide Laphria”, in *Les grandes figures religieuses. Fonctionnement pratique et symbolique dans l'Antiquité*, Paris, 1986 (*Annales litt. de l'Univ. de Besançon*, 329. *Lire lespolythéismes*, 1), p. 149-156.

16 Piccaluga, *l.c.* (n. 15).

17 Pirenne-Delforge, *l.c.* (n. 1).

18 V. Pirenne-Delforge, “Les rites sacrificiels dans la *Périégèse* de Pausanias”, in Knoepfler - Piérart (eds), *o.c.* (n. 15), p. 109-134, esp. p. 129-132.

19 Auffarth, *l.c.* (n. 8), p. 228-230; Y. Lafond, “Pausanias et le panthéon de Patras: l'identité religieuse d'une cité grecque devenue colonie romaine”, in Pirenne-Delforge, *o.c.* (n. 15), p. 195-208.

20 Nilsson, *o.c.* (n. 15), p. 219: “echt altertümliche Opfer”.

21 Nilsson, *o.c.* (n. 15), p. 218: “... der ganze Kult, fremd [ist]...”

22 Herbillon, *o.c.* (n. 15), p. 57-58; Ellinger, *o.c.* (n. 15), p. 247; prudent evaluation by Arafat, *o.c.* (n. 15), p. 136.

23 Osanna, *o.c.* (n. 15), p. 141-146. Cf. Wilamowitz, *o.c.* (n. 15), p. 385.

24 Cl. Antonetti, *Les Étolieus. Image et religion*, Paris, 1990, p. 253-260; Piccaluga (*l.c.* [n. 15], p. 321, n. 60) does not agree but without giving adequate reasons.

25 Pausanias, IV, 31, 7 (transl. W.H.S. Jones): Δαμοφῶντος δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦτου καὶ ἡ Λαφρία καλουμένη παρὰ Μεσσηνίοις ἀέβεσθαι δὲ σφισιν ἀπὸ τοιοῦδε αὐτὴν καθέστηκε. Καλυδωνίοις ἡ Ἄρτεμις - ταύτην γὰρ θεῶν μάλιστα ἔσεβον - ἐπὶ κλησὶν εἶχε Λαφρία Μεσσηνίων δὲ οἱ λαβόντες Ναύρακτον

παρὰ Ἀθηναίων - τηνιαυτά γὰρ Αἰτωλίας ἐγγύτατα ὦκουν παρὰ Καλυδωνίων ἔλαβον. τὸ σχῆμα ἐτέρωθι δηλώσω. τὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς Λαφρίας ἀφίμετο ὄνομα ἔς τε Μεσσηνίους καὶ ἐς Πατρεῖς Ἀαίων μόνους...

26 Pausanias, IV, 31, 9 (transl. W.H.S. Jones): πλησίον δὲ Κουδήτων μέγαρον, ἔνθα ζῶα τὰ πάντα ὁμοίως καθαγίζουσιν ἀρξάμενοι γὰρ ἀπὸ βοῶν τε καὶ αἰγῶν καταβαίνουσιν ἐς τοὺς ὄρνιθας ἀφιέντες ἐς τὴν φλόγα.

27 Plutarch, *Moralia*, 244e; 660d.

28 The last is Petropoulou, *l.c.* (n. 15).

29 Nilsson, *o.c.* (n. 15), p. 221-222. He offers such a doubtful reconstruction for the 'holocaust' of Isis at Tithorea, attested only by Pausanias and which is interpreted as an heritage of an Artemisiac cult at this place (p. 218, quoted and assumed by Petropoulou, *l.c.* [n. 15], p. 319).

30 Ellinger, *o.c.* (n. 15).

31 IG IX, 1, 90: ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ἀνέθηκεν καὶ τῇ πόλει, ἀγνονοθ[ε] | τήσας αὐτοῦ τῶν μεγάλων Καισαρήων καὶ τῶν μεγά | λων Ἐλαφηβολίων τε καὶ Λαφρίων δῖς, οὗς ἀγῶνας | μόνος καὶ πρῶτος εἰσηγήσατο καὶ ἐτέλεσεν ἐκ τῶν ιδί[ων].

32 Séve, in Ellinger, *o.c.* (n. 15), p. 345-346.

33 W.K. Pritchett, *Greek Archives, Cults and Topography*, Amsterdam, 1996, p. 105 sq.

34 Pausanias, VII, 19, 1-10. On this kind of sacrifice in the Imperial period: G. Ekroth, "Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults", in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Hero Cult*. Proceedings of the Fifth Intern. Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult (Göteborg Univ., 21-23 April 1995), Stockholm, 1999 (*ActaAth-8*°, 16), p. 145-158.

35 M. Massenzio, "La festa di Artemis Triklaria e Dioniso Aisymnetes a Patrai", *SMSR* 39 (1968), p. 101-132; A. Brelich, *Paides e Parthenoi*, Roma, 1969, p. 366-377; J. Redfield, "From sex to politics: the rites of Artemis Triklaria and Dionysos Aisymnetes at Patras", in D.M. Halperin, J.J. Winkler, F.I. Zeitlin (eds), *Before sexuality*, Princeton, 1990, p. 115-134; K. Dowden, *Death and the Maiden*, London, 1989, p. 169-173; P. Bonnechere, *Le sacrifice humain en Grèce ancienne*, Liège, 1994 (*Kernos*, suppl. 3), p. 55-62; Osanna, *o.c.* (n. 15), p. 132-141.

36 Osanna, *o.c.* (n. 15), p. 142; . M. Moggi, M. Osanna, *Pausania. Guida della Grecia. Libro VII. L'Aciaia*, Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, 2000, p. 293-294.

37 Pausanias, VII, 20, 8.

38 Lafond, *l.c.* (n. 19), p. 195-208, esp. p. 202, 205.

39 Pausanias, III, 16, 7-11.

40 On this foundation: G.W. Bowf.rsock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford, 1965, p. 92-95; J.-M. Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa*, Paris/Rome, 1984, p. 431-432; Arafat, *o.c.* (n. 15), p. 134-138; A.D. Rizakis, *Achâte II. La cité de Patras: épigraphie et histoire*, Athènes, 1998 (*Meletemata*, 25), p. 24-28.

41 Pausanias, IX, 3, 7-8 (transl. W.H.S. Jones): εὐτρέπισται δὲ σφισιν ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους βωμός, ποιοῦσι δὲ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε τὸν βωμόν ξύλα τετράγωνα ἀρμόζοντες πρὸς ἄλληλα συντιθέασιν κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ εἰ λίθων

ἐποιοῦντο οἰκοδομί, ἐξάραντες δὲ ἐς ὕψος φρύγανα ἐπιφέρουσιν. (8) αἱ μὲν δὴ πόλεις καὶ τὰ τέλη θήλειαν θύσαντες τῇ Ἥρᾳ βοῦν ἑκαστοὶ καὶ ταῦρον τῷ Διὶ τὰ ἱερεῖα οἴνου καὶ θυμιαμάτων πλήρη καὶ τὰ δαίδαλα ὁμοῦ καθαγίζουσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ, ἰδιῶται δὲ ὅποσα θύουσιν οἱ πλούσιοι τοῖς δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίως δυναμ<ένο>ις τὰ λεπτότερα τῶν προβάτων θύειν καθέστηκε, καθαγίζειν δὲ τὰ ἱερεῖα δημοίως πάντα. σὺν δέ σφισι καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βωμὸν ἐπιλαβὼν τὸ πῦρ ἐξανήλωσε μεγίστην δὴ ταύτην φλόγα καὶ ἐμμαιροτάτου σύνοπτον οἶδα ἀρθεῖσαν.

42 Lucian, in *De Syria Dea*, 49, gives Syrian evidence.

43 Xenophon, *Anabasis* V, 3, 9-10 (transl. C.L. Brownson, *Loeb Classical Library*): ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ βωμὸν καὶ ναὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀργυρίου, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ αἰεὶ δεκατεῦων τὰ ἐργοῦ ὥραϊα θυσίν ἐποίει τῇ θεῷ, καὶ πάντες οἱ πολῖται καὶ οἱ πρόσχωροι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες μετεῖχον τῆς ἐορτῆς. παρεῖχε δὲ ἡ θεὸς τοῖς σινηνοῦσιν ἄλφιστα, ἄρτους, οἶνον, τραγήματα, καὶ τῶν θυομένων ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς νομῆς λάος, καὶ τῶν θηρευομένων δέ. καὶ γὰρ θήραν ἐποιοῦντο εἰς τὴν ἐορτὴν οἱ τε Ξενοφώντος παῖδες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, οἱ δὲ βουλόμενοι καὶ ἄνδρες ξυνεθήρων καὶ ἡλίσκετο τὰ μὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ χώρου, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Φολόης, σῦες καὶ δορκάδες καὶ ἔλαδοι.

44 *Anthologia Palatina* VI, 35; 57; 106; 111; 113-116; 168; 332. Schol. Aristoph., *Plutos*, 944. Cf. J. Aymard, *Essai sur les chasses romaines, des origines d la fin du siècle des Antonins*, Paris, 1951, p. 508-512.

45 E.g. J.-L. Durand et A. Schnapp, “Boucherie sacrificielle et chasses initiatiques”, *La cite des images. Religion et société en Grèce antique*, Paris, 1984, p. 49-66.

46 Chaniotis, *L.c.* (n. 5), p. 24.

47 G. Wissowa, “Diane”, *RE*, V 1 (1903), col. 335-336; E. Birley, “The Religion of the Roman Army: 1895-1977”, *ANRW* II, 16.2 (1978), p. 1535-1536; Chr. Eppelett, “The Capture of Animals by the Roman Military”, *G&R* 48 (2001), p. 210-222.

48 ILS, 4044 (mid-2nd cent. AD[?]): I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Dianae Patr(ensi) sacr(um) C(aius) Iul(ius) Artemo trib(unus) Mil(itum) legionis II Ad(iutricis) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito), “Sacred to Juppiter Optimus Maximus and Diana of Patrae, Caius Iulius Artemo, military tribune of the 2nd legion Adiutrix, paid his vow willingly and deservedly”.

49 Lafond, *L.c.* (n. 15), p. 426-427, on the civic cohesion implied by the cult. Cf. R.L. Fox, *Pagans and Christians in the Mediterranean World from the Second Century AD to the Conversion of Constantin*, London, 1986, p. 90-91.

50 CIL III, 510 (= A. Rizakis, *Achaïe I, Sources textuelles et histoire régionale*, Athens, 1995 [Meletemata, 201, n° 5; early empire]: *Aequanae Sex(ti) f(iliae) Musae sacerdoti Dianae AugCustae) Laphriae et sacerdoti Aug(usti) imagine et statuis II (duabus) [b]on(oratae) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) Sex(tus) A<equa>nus pa[t(er)]*), “To Aequana Musa, daughter of Sextus, priestess of Diana Augusta Laphria and priestess of Augustus, honoured by an image and two statues according to a decree of the decurions, her father Sextus

- Aequanus". Cf. I.A. Papapostolou, "Monuments des combats de gladiateurs a Patras", *BCH* 113 (1989), p. 351-401, esp. n. 13.
- 51 Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 94, 4. Cf. Auffarth, *l.c.* (n. 8), p. 230-231.
- 52 This could be confirmed once more if the statues of Zeus Olympios, Athena and Hera (VII, 20, 3) were in fact the *interpretatio graeca* of the *Capitolium* in the colony: Auffarth, *l.c.* (n. 8), p. 231. *Contra* Osanna, *o.c.* (n. 15), p. 90-91.
- 53W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, Harvard, 1985, p. 62.
- 54 S. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge, 1984, p. 89.
- 55G. Ekroth, *The sacrificial rituals of Greek hero-cult in the Archaic and Classical periods*, Liege, 2002 (*Kemos*, suppl. 12).
- 56 M. Piérart, "Pantheon et hellénisation dans la colonie romaine de Corinthe: la "redécou-verte" du culte de Palaimon a l'Isthme" *Kernos*, 11 (1998), p. 85-109. – C. Pache, *Baby and Child Heroes in Ancient Greece*, Urbana/Chicago, 2004, chap. 6 (p. 132-180), studies the 'child hero' Palaimon in mythography with some insights into the cult without taking into account Piérart's analysis (the title of the paper is wrong in the bibliography).
- 57Wilamowitz, *o.c.* (n. 15), p. 386.
- 58 Pausanias, II, 35, 4-8. Cf. M. Jameson, "Inscriptions of the Peloponnesos. A. Hermione", *Hesperia* 22 (1953), p. 151-157; Pirenne-Delforge, *l.c.* (n. 18), p. 115-116.

Endnotes

* This paper was presented at Heidelberg in June 2003 and I would like to warmly thank Angelos Chaniotis for his invitation to take part in the seminars on ritual dynamics. A first draft of the analysis of the Laphria has been published in French in G. Labarre (ed.), *Les cultes locaux dans les mondes grec et romain. Actes du colloque de Lyon, 7-8 juin 2001*, Lyon/Paris, 2004 (coll. *Archéologie et Histoire de l'Antiquité. Université Lumière-Lyon 2*, 7), as a part of my communication: "La portée du témoignage de Pausanias sur les cultes locaux", p. 5-20.

Normative interventions in Greek rituals: Strategies for justification and legitimation

Eftychia Stavrianopoulou

When he claims that I am committing impiety by saying that we should perform the sacrifices from the ancestral and inscribed laws and decrees, I am astonished at his failure to realize that he is accusing the city also – for this is what you have decreed. (Lysias 30, 17)

1. Introduction

¹ For a religion “which was essentially non-literate in its ritual practices”,

¹ Greek religion produced a large amount of relevant epigraphical testimonies. Some of the main emphasis in these inscriptions is on cult foundations, cult calendars, oracles, hymns, collections of reports of healing, sales of priesthoods, temple inventories, and cult and sacrificial regulations. Because of the form in which the majority of these texts has been transmitted, namely decrees of the assembly, resolutions of associations or of other corporations and boards, they have misleadingly been called *leges sacrae*.

²

² The epigraphical material doubtlessly represents a direct source of ritual practice, if of peculiar character. The epigraphical documents

deal with ritual actions, but are not necessarily ritual texts *per se*. With the exception of texts such as the hymns (on stone, papyrus or golden lamellae), they were not recited within the framework of any ritual practice and thus not used directly in ritual.

3

Most of these so-called *leges sacrae* document interventions in already existing rituals or the introduction of new ritual practices, which were resolved after a proposal had been made and a group of people (e.g. the popular assembly or the assembly of an association) had debated upon it. In other words, the *leges sacrae* document the changeability of the rituals.

3

Precisely this is the significance of the *leges sacrae* for the investigation of rituals. For rituals are distinct, yet at the same time generally accepted forms of action, borne by a social group, which however are “constantly changed and adapted by ‘logic of practice (practical reason)’ [Bourdieu], performance and updating”.

4

Rituals are altered, the course of action is restructured, new rituals are introduced, ritual practices are modified; in other words, rituals are subject to intervention in varying degrees, intervention that causes a transformation or even the creation of a new ritual.

5

Processes of ritual dynamics are thus seen to be a special case of processes of social dynamics, for the alteration of rituals – as much as their continuity – must be ascribed to actions which can be seen as an expression of a complex (human or non-human) agency.

6

4

These are the actions documented in the *leges sacrae*. The actions evidenced in the inscriptions originated from within a field of social negotiation, instigated by humans and divinities, comprising, in interaction with the community, communicative processes, which concern the preparation, structuring, announcing and carrying out of a ritual event. For the most part, this has to do with adaptations of ritual actions to new conditions, in order to continue to guarantee the efficacy and credibility of the rituals. For rituals are well-established systems of rules. They are seen as guarantors of tradition, order, prestige, decency, honesty, economic and social prestige, etc.

Transgression or alteration of these rules is a dangerous matter. It can be successful, i.e. be accepted, but it can fail and the perpetrator may harvest punishment, contempt or ridicule by the group.

7

Seen thus, the *leges sacrae* are not only to be read as the texts of a contemporary religious discourse, but also as an expression of communication effecting action, communication with and in front of a contemporary public. They consist of a series of actions that need to be deciphered and defined.

8

5

In analysing those factors which permit changes of ritual to appear suitable and acceptable, the questions also arise of who is responsible for the changes, of what means are used, of the legitimation of these means as well as of the change as such. These questions involve both the options for action and the ability to act on the part of both, individuals and groups, as well as their ideas of authority and, in P. Bourdieu's phrasing, of the *rules of the game*.

9

These latter refer to the understanding of conscious and unconscious attitudes, practices, and dispositions that are valid in a certain historical context.

10

Within this context, and using personal resources (of a symbolic, economic, cultural nature etc.), each individual can attempt (at least theoretically) to act effectively and persuasively. The ability to change a ritual, however, is not always ascribed in the inscriptions to the actions of an individual or a group, but also to a higher instance such as a divinity. In these cases the emic perspective serves as an indication of the existing ideas of the ritual participants with regard to authority.

11

The interventions in ritual are based on an altogether complex network of economic, political, social, and religious aspects. Changes in one of these areas generally cause further changes affecting the structure of the ritual, even as far as abolishing it completely.

2. Who changes the rituals?

... (whether) it will be pleasing to the goddess and advantageous to the demos both now and the future, should they (sc. the Milesians) accomplish the collects for Artemis Boulephoros Skiris in accordance to the proposal made on the basis of the *exegesis* by the Skiridai or in the manner it takes place now. Whatever the god may presage, the *theopropoi* should bring in to the popular assembly and the demos is to decide after the hearing, so that everything is carried out in accordance with the advice of the god. As *theopropoi* were elected: Pheidippos, son of Poeseidonios, Automedes, son of Elpenor, Lampis, son of Lampitos, Lichas, son of Hermo-phantes. The demos of the Milesians inquires, whether it will be pleasing to the goddess and advantageous to the demos both now and in the future to perform the collects for Artemis Boulephoros Skiris in accordance with the *exegesis* of the Skiridai or in the manner they take place now. The god gave the following oracle... (LSAM 47 = Syll.2 660).

12

6

The fragmentarily preserved decree from Miletos refers to changes in the cult of Artemis Boulephoros Skiris. These had to do with the collection of donations (*agerseis*) from the general population, a job usually carried out by the cult personnel

13

. The *genos* of the Skiridai, entrusted with the cult of Artemis, made a proposal in the popular assembly on changes in the course of the ritual. The public, after listening to what was said by the Skiridai, was of the opinion, however, that the advice of the oracular god Apollo should be sought, so that all might be done according to his advice (ὅπως πάντα πραχθήσεται ἀκολούθως τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβουλίᾳ). The question that was to be posed in writing to the oracle of Didyma by the four representatives (*theopropoi*) chosen by the popular assembly was whether the goddess Artemis would prefer that the collection of donations be carried out according to the suggestions of the Skiridai, or as hitherto, and whether the one or the other method would be more advantageous for the demos. After the transmission of the divine answer or oracle and subsequent consideration, the demos of the Milesians wished to make its decision (ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀκούσας βουλευσάσθω).

7

Clearly this was a delicate matter, accompanied by an equally difficult discussion with religious experts on the one side, the political community of the Milesians on the other. We do not know the result of the consultation of the oracle, but the popular resolution gives us a

glimpse of the negotiability of restructuring a ritual. Also, it permits us to draw conclusions about the position of each of the agents, and thus enables the analysis of the various processes of confirmation or doubt with regard to the relations of authority and power in ritual.

8

Who determines how, when, and where a ritual is to be carried out? Who has the ability and the power to effect changes having an impact in a complex of religious, political and economic levels?

14

Four groups of actors can be discerned in the text: the religious experts *proprie dictu* (Skiridai), the religious experts who were designated by popular vote (*theopropoi*), the citizens participating in the popular assembly, and, last but not least, the deities themselves (Artemis and the oracular god Apollo). The actions of all participants in the discourse on the intervention in the ritual, both human and non-human, possess special characteristics. The suggestion was introduced by the Skiridai who presented it as a command of Artemis: this was transmitted by means of the *exegesis*, i.e. interpretation by the experts of the cult.

15

The actions of the *theopropoi* have their legitimacy in the choice and definition of their persons, as the official interpreters of the oracle. However, compared to the Skiridai they are not only the mediators between divinity and their devotees, but also between the deity, their devotees, and the demos as the third instance. The demos in the form of the popular assembly is, in the end, the institution which has the power at its disposal to agree to or refuse an intervention; the act of agreeing or refusing itself ought to be in agreement with the divine order.

9

This brief description is intended to show the complexity hidden behind this type of intervention. Individuals and groups, equipped with different sorts of symbolic capital, act in a complementary, yet competing fashion.

16

Moreover, it is clear that the appeal to the divinatory deity is equivalent, in an emic perspective, to the agency underlying this intervention. The request of the goddess Artemis was to be confirmed or clearly formulated by the oracle of the god Apollo. The reason for

the consultation of Apollo lay in the mistrust of the citizens in the *exegetai* or their interpretations.

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10

“What the goddess prefers and what is best for the community” is the reason given, which, at the same time, delimits the intended area of action of all actors. The collection of donations affected the cult of the goddess and simultaneously the citizens. Collecting represents the sacral requirement of donations and is concurrent with blessings for the donor.

18

But it could become difficult for the people, if too much was required of them too often. It may suffice to mention the fact that these collections came to be regarded as characteristic of the unofficial cult associations, and held in contempt. Seen thus, any change in collecting donations for Artemis was not simply a matter for the experts of the cult.

19

At least, it was not regarded as such, which weakened the position of the Skiridai, and involved the experts of ritual chosen by the popular assembly. The relative positions of the *exegetai* in the cult of Artemis Boulephoros Skiris, in particular, and in the religious life in Miletos in general, were defined by their symbolic resources of action. Their prestige and their reputation was built on their closeness to the divinity, as well as on their competence in ritual matters, which required in turn special experience and knowledge.

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Only they could interpret the wishes of the divinity.

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The subject of the interpretations of the Skiridai was indeed a ritual, in which an extended circle participated: the people. These latter were not present only as spectators, but also as active participants by reason of their donations. The process described in the decree indicates that the ‘wish’ of Artemis ascertained by the *exegetai* did not originate in a generally recognised need. The active participation of the populace in this ritual, however, changed the parameters for judging the concerns of the Skiridai. The Skiridai were confronted with other experts, whose relative position was defined symmetrically to the former, but also deviated from them. Typically,

it is not a group of envoys that is instructed to enquire of the oracle of Didyma, but rather four *theopropoi* are chosen. The Skiridai, as *exegetai*, are confronted with the *theopropoi*, the interpreters of divine signs, and these latter are invested with a ritual competence, namely by the political ritual of voting. This imbuelement takes place because of the 'closeness' of the four persons chosen to the demos, or, more accurately, to the institution of the popular assembly; a certain correspondence between this latter and the goddess in the case of the Skiridai is called to mind. The performance of these four persons in the political arena formed the criterion for their being chosen, as strongly suggested by the identification of Lichas, son of Hermophantos, with the famous Milesian politician of the 3rd century BC.

21

12

While the power of the Skiridai as ritual experts obviously did not go unchallenged, the power of those commissioned by the demos was equally insufficient for attempting an intervention in a ritual action. They were recognised as a ritual authority, but it was not possible to simply bypass the authority of the real ritual experts, either. Turning to the oracular god Apollo was the only option left open in this situation and the only way to attain unity in a probably much debated matter.

22

To the question, 'who decided that the *agermos* should be altered in this fashion (or should preserve this form)?', the answer would be: 'The god Apollo'. Thus one would see the expression of the god's agency in the oracular statement, and it is this agency that precipitated or refused this particular alteration.

23

3. How does one justify changes in ritual?

Since our city has a pious attitude towards all divinities and in particular towards Apollo of Korope and it venerates him with the most conspicuous honours because of the benefits due to the god, who gives by his oracles answers to each one both in official and in private matters concerning health and well-being; and it is just and suitable –

because of the ancienity of the oracle and its high reputation enjoyed for generations and also because it is visited by foreigners in large number – that the city will meet particular measures concerning the discipline in the oracle and that it should be the resolution of the boule and the demos ... (Demetrias: IG XI 2, 1109, 1. 8-17 = LSCG 83)

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13

In this example, a resolution of the city of Demetrias around 100 BC is recorded, in which the consultation of the oracle of Apollo Koropaios is regulated anew.

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The application for this was made by political figures: the local eponymous priest of Zeus Akraios, the *strategos* of the confederation, and the collegia of the local *strategoi* and the *nomophylakes*. The changes concerned the *eukosmia* of the oracle sanctuary, that is, the preservation of a certain arrangement necessary for the effectiveness of the oracle. The changes must have been quite far-reaching, to judge by the individual details in the text.

14

The high point of the new ritual arrangement was the day of enquiring of the oracle. On this day a whole series of city officials and those of the confederation had to set out for the temple area in a hierarchically arranged procession: the priest of Apollo Koropaios, chosen by the city; a representative from both the college of *strategoi* and that of the *nomophylakes*; a *prytanis*; a treasurer; the scribe of the divinity; and finally the prophet.

26

Apparently a stronger presence of the bearers of political power was part of the ‘new order’. The dignitaries themselves were to embody this new order: “Those named should sit properly in the temple, in white robes, ornamented with laurel wreaths, in (cult) purity and sober, and they shall receive the tablets from those who submit oracular enquiries.” The effectiveness of the ritual thus depended also upon the presence of the dignitaries, who were involved in all sequences, from the procession to the temple through the supervision of the sacrifice right up to receiving the oracular tablets, sealing the urns with their own seals and, finally, handing the answers to the enquirers.

15

None of these changes is mentioned in the proposal as it is recorded here in extracts. Instead, the argumentative context is defined, on which all actions are based. The arguments enter into the actions of agents or spectators and shape them consciously or unconsciously. In this context, the rhetoric of the agency attains expression. Here *schemes of action* are presented, taking into account memories, actual conditions, cultural models, and linguistic impressions. The agent attempts to transfer these schemes into reality, in the course of which he is dependent on the other agents and is confronted with their schemes.

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The agent, in other words, strives to reach a level of communication, which permits him to convey the content, motivation and the state of knowledge of his actions.

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This means that the agent must use the existing repertory of symbols, gestures and vocabulary at first, in order that the general public will accept his proposal. In his 'rhetoric' he refers to 1) the action to be carried out; 2) the relations that condition this action; and 3) the purpose of the action. The content of these parameters is made concrete by means of distinguishing spatial (e.g. there – here), temporal (e.g. then – now), social (e.g. the other citizens – the 'patriot'), and mental (e.g. the unbelievers – the pious) factors. Understandably a combination of these is most frequently necessary in order to be persuasive. However, more important than the reference to each of these parameters individually is the interaction existing among them.

17

In the concrete example of the restructuring of the oracle consultation in the cult of Apollo Koropaios one can follow the justification presented by the magistrates making the proposal. The introduction to the motivation clause already indicates the first major point of the argument: the special piety (*eu-sebeia*) of the city towards its divinities, and towards Apollo in particular. The changes suggested are supposed to be understood as an expression of the communal veneration for the god and his oracle; for this, however, *eu-kosmia* is needed. The scheme of action presented here involves the

staging of this new *eukosmia* in the oracle. The justification is developed using a series of differentiations. First, Apollo is mentioned as the particular benefactor of the city, in comparison with other divinities. In this context reference is made to the particular efficacy of the oracle of Apollo, which both the city, in official matters, and all citizens, in their private ones, have felt. For this reason it is important that one ensure that the “clear information given by his oracle” can continue to be given. Furthermore, it is the tradition that must be continued: the oracle has existed for generations, and for generations the divinity has been successfully consulted. Apollo and his clear oracular statements are not only highly regarded by the natives, but also increasingly by foreigners who visit his oracle in large numbers. This latter point opens up a perspective which includes the welfare of all agents and which can be interpreted as a further boon of Apollo. The increasing numbers of foreign visitors to the oracle signifies an economic upturn and a challenge for the city and the oracle. From this point of view, not only the proposal itself, but also the position of power of those making it, in their character as leading magistrates of the city, appears justified.

18

In a well-known inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander,

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the matter at hand is the introduction and staging of a festival. On the occasion of the consecration of the cult statue of Artemis Leukophryene in the new temple, changes were resolved upon concerning the annual festival and the active participation of the populace.

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Just as in the previous case of Apollo Koropaios, the restructuring was presented to the popular assembly in the form of a proposal, this time that of a single citizen. The long text contains the ‘staging instructions’ in detail, while the application describes more the scheme of action:

Because, after divine intuition and after the manifestation of the goddess in the presence of the entire citizenry concerning the reconstruction of the temple, the Parthenon was finished in such a way regarding both the enlargement of some of its construction units and its splendour that it greatly differs from the old temple, which our ancestors left us, and because it is for the demos ancestral custom, to meet the Sacred with reverence by granting always to all gods the

worthiest sacrifices and honours and first and foremost to the patron of the city Artemis Leukophryene: With good luck and for the well-being of the demos and of those who are well-disposed towards the citizenry of the Magnesians as well as their wives and their children. (*I. Magnesia* 100 A, 1. 11-20)

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19

The proposer Diagoras refers at the outset to two mutually connected events, which provided the occasion both for the construction of the Parthenon as well as the foundation of the festival of Artemis Leukophryene. After the epiphany of the goddess (221/20 BC), the Magnesians received a Delphic oracle ordering the construction of a temple and the foundation of an ἁγῶν στεφανίτης. The festival, quite modest in the beginning, was only established after 208/7 BC, after the Magnesians had sent out ambassadors throughout the Greek world for the propagation of the festival and the significance of the cult.

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The festival activities suggested here belong to these efforts, for the construction work may be considered finished with the consecration of the cult statue and its transport in the new temple. The Delphic oracle had spoken of holding a festival for Artemis,

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but not of holding one on the occasion of the consecration of her cult statue. The oracle and the epiphany of the goddess, however, continue to represent the background.

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The festival of the Isiteria, as one that constantly repeated, introduces a new tradition and at the same time organises the old. This is particularly to the proposer, but also to his public. For this reason he continually refers to this point. The new sanctuary may be more beautiful and impressive than that left by the forefathers, but the attitude of the entire citizenry and of every individual is conditioned by ancestral custom. All divinities are given suitable sacrifices and offerings, but in the first place the goddess Artemis, who supports the succour of the demos and all citizens. What Diagoras creates with these differentiations between the old and the new sanctuary, the 'ancestral customs' and the 'new ancestral customs', the 'honouring of all gods' and the 'special honouring of Artemis', the demos and the individual citizen, is the justification for

his action; at the same time, he creates that common level upon which all further actions (on the part of the other agents) will be based.

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Both examples show some things in common, things that can be observed in other texts too. The section directly concerning the actions of the agents is introduced as a framework, within which the individual changes are made, but now they are *given legitimation*. Nevertheless, the proposal represents primarily a *draft version* for changing the ritual, a draft, which will only be realised when the community has accepted it as such. It is possible, or even probable, that a draught document of this kind contained most of the particulars occurring in the text of the actual resolution. All the more characteristic, then, that the contribution of the original initiator is measured within the shaping of a communicative framework. A formulation such as κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, πάτριόν ἐστιν does not express anything concrete to a modern observer and is therefore judged to be a banality.

34

For the agent of the time, it possessed specific content on the one hand, and on the other it caused a concrete effect on the spectators. What one experienced in daily practice, and re-produced mimetically, i.e. the literally embodied experiences, this was the 'ancestral' thing.

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When, in both examples, the reverence shown by the city towards all divinities is emphasised, and then, almost apologetically, one divinity is particularly honoured, this is not a mere rhetorical trick. It has more to do with creating a consensus, especially since other citizens might believe other divinities to be more effective for their private welfare.

22

The examples mentioned here can be regarded as representative, within limits, of further *leges sacrae*, which record changes in ritual. In most cases we can discover little or nothing of the person named as the initiator. The motivation clause, however, contains indications both of the profile of the proposer and (even more often) the dominant discussions. In the example of the text about the alteration of the consultation of the oracle, the keyword *eukosmia* (order,

discipline) reveals or explains the new role of the city and federal magistrates in ritual, while the short mention of the increasing reputation of the oracle site beyond the borders of the city corresponds to the desires and expectations of the citizens. Conversely, the person of Diagoras cannot be classed more exactly in the resolution for the introduction of an annual festival, for his initiative is intended to make the impression that it is the collective announcement of the pious desires of all citizens.

23

Observing the rhetoric of the agency *per se*, one can repeatedly establish recourse to tradition.

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All changes, if not continuing the tradition, must at least originate in this one particular tradition. The reference to the 'customs of the forefathers' lends an air of legitimacy to the project, even though the project is not yet legitimised. At the same time, the impression is created on the part of the audience that everyone, agents and audience, has the same degree of knowledge, which in turn favours communication on equal terms. The use of contrary pairs of concepts represents a widely known pattern as well. Apparently conflicting ideas are connected and traced back to each other, such as the past and the present, the old and the new, the public and the private, one's own situation and that of strangers, but on the other hand they are independent enough to bring forth new actions, symbols or gestures.

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In summary, it can be established that the text of the proposal reproduces the profile of the agent and the legitimization of his scheme of action, but it does not reproduce the exact content of the suggested alterations. It appears as if the community would like to recognise and simultaneously negate the agency of a person or group of persons. The community itself proves to be present in the scheme of action: the arguments used on the part of the agent to justify his action are taken over by the community and for this reason placed prior to the actual performative text.

4. How are changes in ritual

legitimised?

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During the Persian Wars (480/79 BC), the Athenian envoys consulted the oracle of Apollo at Delphi on whether they should remain in Athens or leave their home in the face of the threatened Persian invasion (Herodotus VII, 141-142).

37

When Pythia, the seeress of the cult of Apollo, prophesied the burnt and bloody temples of Attica and advised them “to flee from their home to the ends of the Earth”, the envoys asked for a new oracle: “Lord, give us a better saying about our homeland ... or we will not leave the sanctuary, we will stay here until the ends of our lives.” After the second oracle about the ‘wooden walls’ behind which the Athenians were to entrench themselves, the messengers returned to Athens and reported of it to the popular assembly.

38

After a debate on the interpretation of the oracle of the ‘wooden walls’-oracle amongst religious experts, participants in the assembly and military experts, everyone agreed with the opinion of the *strategos* Themistokles, who persuaded them that the ‘wooden walls’ did not refer to a palisade around the Acropolis, but rather to ships, which the Athenians ought to build. Themistokles’ interpretation, indeed, confirmed the first oracle, for the ships were to be used to evacuate the Attic population.

26

In this story, the authenticity of which need not interest us in this discussion, we observe a case of refusal and then of recognition and acceptance of the powerful agency of the seeress or of Apollo. The Athenian ambassadors at the oracle, that is the agents, refused to accept the authority of the oracle, which had, after all, been given to them by the god through the medium of the seeress. The Athenian popular assembly, on the other hand, accepted the second oracle, after agreement following a debate (‘agonistic context’) had been reached. The interesting thing in all this is that here the entire community acted as a gathering of experts, giving the oracle ‘official recognition’, instead of relying only on the interpretation of the religious experts or the ambassadors. In both episodes of this story

(Delphi – Athens) a continuous change between agents and audience during the ritual action can be observed. At first the agency was ascribed to the god and his seeress, but the ambassadors' refusal, and not least their request for a second oracle, points to their status as agents. Similarly, in the second part the debate on the interpretation of the prophecy, this time by the ambassadors, emphasises the competitive situation in which the agents confronted each other, equipped with symbolic (chresmologues)

39

or political (elders) capital. Themistokles, whose interpretation was agreed upon in the end, is clearly to be understood as an agent, and his 'stake' in Bourdieu's sense, i.e. his political capital as a military expert, gave him the power to be more persuasive than the others.

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All of the citizens participating in the Assembly accepted his agency and took over his decision as their own.

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This recognition occurred through a complex process of interaction between the initial agents (here: Apollo, or rather Pythia), the mediating ambassadors, and later between various agents during the discussion of the oracle in the Assembly (here: religious experts, Themistokles, the participants in the popular assembly).

28

This example from Herodotus has, of course, little to do with ritual interventions, but it is particularly relevant to the question of legitimization of actions in a ritual context. Three points require emphasis here: a) the efficacy of the agency can be accepted, but also refused; b) the recognition or refusal of the agency is a public act; and c) the recognition or refusal of the agency is carried out as a performative act.

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The first episode in Herodotus' scene at the oracle of Delphi describes the failure of the Pythia, or of Apollo: the Athenian ambassadors did not accept the oracle and demanded a repetition.

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They thus subjected the divine power to an *evaluation* and found it wanting; it was not "suitable, decent".

42

The example of the Skiridai-*exegetai* presents us with a further case of

refusal. The *exegetai* were apparently unable to persuade the citizenry of Miletos that the changes in collecting donations as presented were instructed by the divinity. The authority of the Pythia and the authority of the Skiridai as media of the divine were doubted to an equal extent, while the interpretation of a political expert such as Themistokles was accepted.

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But what does evaluating the action of an agent mean with regard to his power? What are the conditions whose fulfilment or non-fulfilment justifies the participants in evaluating the performance of a scheme of action as 'successful' or 'unsuccessful'? In this context the questions arise of the intentionality of individual agents and of the collective of agents, as well as that of the relation between agency and 'power'. Quite often, the concept of power is characterised by the ability of a person to attain desired and intended results

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. In connection with the milieu in which interventions in ritual are decided upon, that is, before the popular assembly, one does tend to use catchwords such as 'competition' or 'arena of influence', also with reference to the person of the proposer. But this reduces the agents to one-dimensional, cynical manipulators, and does not perceive their religious attitude and their religiously based emotionality. One forgets that transformative actions are not directed at *one* particular public, but at several simultaneously. They are directed at all present, but also at other groups not directly participating in the event involved.

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They are therefore polysemantic with reference to their motivation and addressees, and they are supposed to effect communication between the agents and the public. Seen in this way, *intentionality* cannot be the right concept to describe the motivation of an agent. There is only the illusion of an intention.

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As far as the connection between the status of a person and his ability to assert and implement is concerned, this is doubtless an essential factor. All agents possess the ability to change things, but not all have the same access to social and symbolic goods or positions. It is, however, worth pointing out the different resources available

("capital" according to Bourdieu) and the different contexts ("fields" according to Bourdieu) within which these resources may be obtained and applied. In order to obtain a position within a (political, religious, cultural, etc.) field, a person must acquire capital that will give him the resources necessary to the position within that field.

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In the case of Themistokles, his capital was his military ability and knowledge, which in turn gave his interpretation of the oracle the necessary credibility, indeed authority. Conversely, the religious experts possessed capital as well (cult knowledge, cult experience), but it did not help them to attain the position desired in the field involved.

32

Here we meet a further condition contributing to the recognition of the agency of a person, namely the application of certain resources in a certain field. It is just the recognition given to the person of Themistokles that indicates *the field* in which the competition among experts took place. In the case of the oracle, it was not the interpretation of the oracle as such which was primarily important, but the interpretation of the oracle with regard to the question of defence. The case of the Skiridai must have been similar. The collections are ascribed to the cult context, but the collection took place outside the temple. Thus, not only a voluntary cult community was involved, but the entire community. Within the forum of this community, that is, in the public assembly, and on a question involving not only the cult of Artemis Boulephoros Skiris, but also everyone, the exegetes were no longer the only experts. On the other hand, they could not be ignored in such a matter, which, in the end, led to a higher instance being asked.

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The means of argument used by the agent, besides the application of his own (symbolic, economic, political etc.) capital, possess a dimension of action, which is essential for the modifications and alterations of ritual actions being debated. In reference to the principles of thinking, feeling and acting, thus the perceptual and evaluatory schemes effective in the society involved, as well as in reference to the actual conditions, the agent attempts to place his own ideas in relation to those of other agents. Previous communal

ritual and other experiences, but also the various social constellations are taken into consideration,

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for the spectators must not only be persuaded, they are themselves to be involved and to carry out actions. The reference to tradition,

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the emphasis on a god through mention of his services to the community and each individual citizen, but also raising all kinds of expectations (e.g. economic profit coupled with cult festivals or oracles) evoked images which were to be interpreted by the participants.

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The actions suggested, that is the schemes of action, are carried out in a performative manner. They represent cultural performances,

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for they are "answers to social constellations in which types of order have been established so as to preserve or create social coherence."

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As performances they can be neither fixed nor transmitted, rather they are evanescent and transitory. Their material existence is created by the physical presence of agents and spectators in the same space, and for a certain period of time by the linguistic utterances and the use of aesthetic components such as voices, movement and gestures. The efficacy of the performance is constituted by in a dynamic process by the cooperation of all these elements, and especially by the communication between agents and spectators. Constitutive for this communication is the fact that the role of agent and spectator can be and is exchanged between various groups.

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This means that the participants are not simply present at the event as passive spectators, for they have gathered at the public assembly (thus at a particular place) at a specific time (thus for a certain period of time) in order to do something there communally (thus to vote on the proposals). The spectators are thus not only directly involved, but they can and should become agents themselves, which in turn requires a negotiation of the positions during the event.

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In a performative act special conditions are valid in particular with regard to its perception as well as the inference of its significance on

the part of those involved.

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Because it is a matter of performances, the spectator must rely on his impressions. He cannot turn the pages back or forward, as would be the case when reading a book, he judges the course of the whole affair. As E. Fischer-Lichte rightly remarked: “Performances are correspondingly experienced first, before they are later understood – if indeed they are.”

52

A meaning resulting from such a performance is open both for ambivalences and innovations. It is in just this context that the rhetoric of the agency and the people acting have an especial significance, for their actions are measured both against norms and values that characterise and strengthen the group of spectators, and against the expectations on the part of the spectators. These strategies are oriented towards realising the actions and therefore must be of an explanatory and a justificatory nature at the same time, i.e. the responsible action of the agent must be visible.

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In the end it is the group that will decide in favour of acceptance or refusal.

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It is “the group that *creates and designs its own actions* through the work of official recognition, which consists of *making each practice collective*, in that it is *made public, delegated and synchronised*”, notes Bourdieu.

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On the one hand this means that all suggestions of possible intervention in ritual need to be confirmed by the group, whether by being accepted or refused by the group, or whether the group induces further alteration. On the other hand, recognition by the group marks the establishment of new forms of habitus,

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which are tested by their performance, thus by the complex processes of exchange such as linguistic utterances, the corporeal and aesthetic dispositions of the agents and participants, and perceived as ‘suitable’.

4. The ritual of proposal?

This moment of *public recognition* of a scheme of action is expressed by the typical enactment formula ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ. For this reason, the specific regulations resolved upon do not appear to any extent in the text of the proposal. These are common resolutions, which have been initiated by individual persons or a group. In a way, they represent that result intended by the actions of the agent or agents: the creation of a transformation borne by the community. This is the dynamic of these performative actions, which are to be regarded themselves as ritual actions. What looks like a simple suggestion for a future performance represents a ritual within a ritual, or at least one that triggers changes in another. The performative character of the ritual of proposal itself, if one may call it that, uses the arena in which political rituals were normally carried out, namely the public assembly. Without being a political ritual in the strict sense, the idea was to have *official* public recognition come into being.

The *leges sacrae* are to be understood as documents that not only reproduce the public recognition of the new arrangement of ritual cult actions, but also symbolically perpetuate it.

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It was not, or not just, a question of publishing the new regulations in a written, fixed form of reminder for the contemporary and future citizens or visitors of a temple.

57

These were the symbols of a one-time ritual communication, which induced a series of further communications through rituals.

Notes

1 A. Henrichs, "Writing Religion: Inscribed Texts, Ritual Authority, and the Religious Discourse of the Polis", in H. Yunis (ed.), *Written Texts and the Rise of Literate Culture in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge, 2003, p. 43.

2 For discussions on this problematic term see now R. Parker, "What are Sacred

Laus?" in E.M. Harris, L. Rubinstein (eds), *The Law and the Courts in Ancient Greece*, London, 2004, p. 57-70; E. Lupu, *Early Greek Law. A Collection of New Documents*, Leiden, 2005 (*Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*, 152), p. 4-9.

3Cf. A. Hultgard, "Sacred Texts and Canonicity: Greece", in S.I. Johnston (ed.), *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide*, Cambridge, MA, London, 2004, p. 633-635.

4 A. Michaels, *Zur Dynamik von Ritualkomplexen*, Heidelberg, 2003 (*Forum Ritualdynamik*, 3), p. 6.

5Cf. the reconstruction of the Boiotian Daidala by A. Chaniotis, "Ritual Dynamics: The Boiotian Festival of Daidala", in H.F.J. Horstmannshoff, H.W. Singor, FT. van Straten, J.H.M. Strubbe (eds), *Kykeon. Studies in Honour of H.S. Versnel*, Leiden, 2002 (*Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*, 142), p. 23-48, or that of the Anthesteria by S.C. Humphreys, *The Strangeness of Gods. Historical Perspectives on the Interpretation of Athenian Religion*, Oxford, 2004, p. 223-275. See also V. Pirenne-Delforge (in this volume) for the festival of Artemis Laphria in Patrae.

6 The concept of agency has been conceptualized over the past few decades, focusing in particular on theorists of practice such as A. Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis*, London, 1979. According to Giddens (p. 55) "action or agency [...] does not refer to a series of discrete acts combined together, but to a continuous flow of conduct. [...]. The notion of agency has reference to the activities of an agent and cannot be examined apart from a broader theory of the acting self. [...] The concept of agency as I advocate it here, involving 'intervention' in a potentially malleable object-world, relates directly to the more generalized notion of Praxis. [...] It is a necessary feature of action that, at any point in time, the agent could have acted otherwise. [...] It is a mistake [...] to suppose that the concept of action can be fully elucidated in this respect outside of the context of *historically located modes of activity*". Thus the concept of agency offers a starting point for the investigation of practices that either reproduce or transform the very structures that shape them. Recently W. Sax, "Agency", in J. Kreinath, J. Snoek, M. Stausberg (eds), *Theorizing Rituals. I. Issues, Topics, Approaches, Concepts*, Leiden (forthcoming) exploring the usefulness of the concept of agency for the ritual theory, has argued for a "complex agency". Ritual agency, according to Sax, is not only a property of individual persons, who invent and perform rituals, but it can also be distributed among multiple actors and institutions. Furthermore, he has pointed to the distinction between the emic and the etic perspective, because "indigenous people ... often attribute ritual agency to non-human beings, while 'we' are looking for strategies". See also O. Krüger, M. Nijhawan, E. Stavrianopoulou, "*Ritual*" und "*agency*": *Legitimation und Reflexivität ritueller Handlungsmacht*, Heidelberg, 2005 (*Forum Ritualdynamik*, 14).

7 Succinctly expressed by Michaels, o.c. (n. 4), p. 9-10: "Der religiöse Revolutionär kann scheitern, wenn er die etablierten Ritualkomplexe angreift; er kann aber auch zum Stifter einer Weltreligion werden."

8 Ritual is to be defined not only as the stereotypical repetition of a script, but also

the performance which occurs within the frame of the script: S.J. Tambiah, "A Performative Approach to Ritual", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 65 (1979), p. 113-169; E. Fischer-Lichte, "Performance, Inszenierung, Ritual. Zur Klärung kulturwissenschaftlicher Schlüsselbegriffe", in J. Martschukat, S. Patzold (eds), *Geschichtswissenschaft und 'performative turn'. Ritual, Inszenierung und Performanz vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit*, Köln et al., 2003, p. 47-52. For the relationship between ritual and text see now the contributions in A. Barchiesi, J. Rüpke, S. Stephens (eds), *Rituals in Ink. A Conference on Religion and Literary Production in Ancient Rome Held at Stanford University 2002*, Stuttgart, 2004.

9 P. Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, Stanford, 1990, p. 66-68; 81-82.

10 In other words, the rules are often most closely bound to the disposition. They form the disposition and guide it, since they have been internalised: Cf. P. Bourdieu, *Practical Reason. On the Theory of Action*, Stanford, 1998, p. 80-81.

11 See *supra* n. 6 [W. Sax (forthc.)].

12... τ[ῆ] θεῶ]σμέμω[ς ἔξ]ει κ[αὶ] τῶ] δῆμω συμφερό[ν]τως καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτε χρόνον συντελοῦντ[ι] τ[ὰ]ς ἀγέρσεις Ἀρτέμιδι Βουλευφόρῳ Σκιρίδι καθότι Σκιρ[ί]δαι ἐξηγουμένοι εἰσφέρουσι ἢ καθότι νῦν γίνεται ἃ δε [ἄ]ν ὁ θεὸς θεσπίσῃ οἱ μὲν θεοπρόποι εἰσαγγειλάτωσαν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀκούσας βουλευσάσθω, ὅπως πάντα πραχθήσεται ἀκολούθως τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβουλ[ί]α. Θεόπροποι ἠιρέθησαν Φείδιππος Ποσειδωνίου, [Α]ὐτομήδης Ἐλπίνορος, Λάμπις Λαμίτου, Λίχας [Ερ]μοφάντου. Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μιλησίων ἐρωτᾷ πότε[ρον] τῇ θεῶ μεχαρισμένον ἔξει καὶ τῶ δῆμω συμ[φε]ρόντως ἔσται καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον [συ]ντελοῦντι τὰς ἀγέρσεις Ἀρτέμιδι Βουλευ[φόρῳ] Σκιρίδι καθότι Σκιρίδαι ἐξηγοῦνται ἢ καθότι νῦν γίνεται. ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε...].

13 W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion*, Heidelberg, 1977, p. 166-167.

14 These questions describe an *agent* as a person who has the ability to bring about effects and to (re)constitute the world and distinguish him from an *actor* whose action is rule-oriented. Thus actor and agent should be considered as two different perspectives on the actions of any given individual. Cf. I. Karp, "Agency and Social Theory. A Review of Anthony Giddens", *American Ethnologist* 13, 1 (1986), p. 131-137.

15 According to F. Jacoby, *Atthis: The Local Chronicles of Ancient Athens*, Oxford, 1949, p. 45, "Exêgêtai were interpreters who in dubious cases ... on the strength of their comprehensive knowledge of ancient ritual, utter an authoritative opinion as to how an act of cult is to be performed with ritual correctness". See also R.S. Garland, "Religious Authority in Archaic and Classical Athens", *ABSA* 79 (1984), p. 114-5; *id.*, "Strategies of Religious Intimidation and Coercion in Classical Athens", in P. Hellström, B. Alroth (eds), *Religion and Power in the Ancient Greek World. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1993*, Uppsala, 1996 (*Boreas*, 24), p. 93; R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History*, Oxford, 1996, p. 51 sq.; A. Chaniotis, s.v. "Exegetai", *Neue Pauly* IV (1998), col. 339-340.

16 For the strategies of distinction and their relationship to the symbolic capital see

Bourdieu o.c. (n. 9), p. 135-141, esp. 136: "Symbolic capital is the product of a struggle in which each agent is both a ruthless competitor and supreme judge (and therefore, in terms of an old opposition, both *lupus* and *deus*)."

17Cf. the remark by Garland, l.c. (n. 15: 1996), p. 93, on the impact of *exegetai* in general, who states that "it is important to note, however, that they possessed no institutionally sanctioned powers of enforcement nor, to put it crudely, any hotline to the gods. So while an *êxêgetes* might intimidate a recalcitrant or misguided delinquent, he certainly could not coerce him into conformist behaviour."

18 On *agermos* see Burkert, o.c. (n. 13), p. 166-167.

19 'Collecting donations' belonged to the duties (and privileges) of the priestess of Athena Pergaia in Halicarnassos (ISAM 73), of the priestess of Demeter in Kos (LSCG 175) or of the priestesses of Dea Syria and Isis in Samos (IG XII 6, 1-3). These examples can be compared with the *metragyrtai*, 'collectors for the Mother' or the devotees of Bendis, who were despised for their collecting: Burkert, o.c. (n. 13), p. 167; Parker, o.c. (n. 15), p. 193 (*metragyrtai*), 195 (Bendis).

20 In that way the *exegetai* stood out from the normal citizens, as well as from other religious experts of the same cult. See *supra* n. 15; see also M. Jameson, "The Spectacular and the Obscure in Athenian Religion", in S. Goldhill, R. Osborne (eds), *Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 338. On the different opinions in scholarship upon the ritual competence of Greek priests see R. Garland, l.c. (n. 15) and *id.*, "Priests and Power in Classical Athens", in M. Beard, J. North (eds), *Pagan Priests. Religion and Power in the Ancient World*, London, 1990, p. 73-91; B. Gladigow, "Erwerb religiöser Kompetenz. Kult und Öffentlichkeit in den klassischen Religionen", in G. Binder, K. Ehlich (eds), *Religiöse Kommunikation – Formen und Praxis vor der Neuzeit*, Trier, 1997 (*Stätten und Formen der Kommunikation im Altertum*, VI), p. 103-118; A. Chaniotis, "Priests as Ritual Experts in the Greek World", in B. Dignas, K. Trampendach (eds), *Practitioners of the Sacred: Greek Priests from Homer to Julian*, Cambridge Ma. (forthcoming); E. Stavrianopoulou, "Ensuring Ritual Competence in Ancient Greece. A Negotiable Matter: Religious Specialists", in U. Hüsken (ed.), *Getting It Wrong?, Mistakes, Failure and the Dynamic of Ritual*, Leiden (forthcoming).

21 On the person of Lichas, who is mentioned in many inscriptions, especially in connection with the Cretan settlers (*Milet* III 33, a, 1. 3-6: 228/7 BC) see C. Habicht, "Milesische Theoren in Athen", *Chiron* 21 (1991), p. 327-328.

22IG II² 204 (= *Syll.*3 204 = LSCG 32; 352/1 BC) records a consultation of the Delphic oracle, which was used to decide a debate on the leasing of the Sacred Orgas. As R. Osborne, "Inscribing Performance", in S. Goldhill, R. Osborne (eds), *Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 358, points out, this inscription is a fine example of the way "in which the Athenians devised procedures whose elaborateness was visible, through the unnecessarily complicated ritual that it ordained, the impossibility of the partiality. The visible impartiality ensured that a matter which they felt they could not decide immediately did not run on as a

political issue.”

23Cf. R. Parker, “Greek States and Greek Oracles”, in P.A. Cartledge, F.D. Harvey (eds), *Crux. Essays Presented to G.E.M. de Ste. Croix on his 75th Birthday*, Exeter, 1985, p. 300: “Divination helps the consultant to move from doubt to action by providing counsel that is apparently objective and uniquely authoritative.” See also S.I. Johnston, “Introduction”, in S.I. Johnston, P.T. Struck (eds), *Mantikê. Studies in Ancient Divination*, Leiden, Boston, 2005 (*Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*, 155), p. 22.

24 ἐπεὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους μὲν θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς διακειμένης, οὐχ ἥμισυ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν Κοροπαῖον, καὶ πιμώσης ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις τιμαῖς διὰ τοῦ μαντείου καὶ κατὰ κοινὸν καὶ κατ’ ἰδίαν ἐκάστω περὶ τῶν πρὸς ὑγιείᾳ[v] καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀνηκόω(ν), δίκαιον δέ ἐστιν καὶ καλῶς ἔχον, ὄντος ἀρχαίου τοῦ μαντείου καὶ προτετιμημένου διὰ προγόνων, παραγινομένων δὲ καὶ ξένων πλειόνων ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ποιήσασθαι τινα πρόνοιαν ἐπιμελεστέραν τὴν πόλιν περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ μαντήιον εὐκοσμίας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ...

25 See L. Robert, “Sur l’oracle d’Apollon Koropaios”, in id., *Hellenica V*, Paris, 1948, p. 16-28; V. Rosenberger, *Griechische Orakel. Eine Kulturgeschichte*, Darmstadt, 2001, p. 29-32.

26 Note that this order corresponds to that of the initiators of the decree.

27 C. Wulf, “Performative Macht und praktisches Wissen im rituellen Handeln. Bourdieus Beitrag zur Ritualtheorie”, in B. Rehbein, G. Saalmann, H. Schwengel (eds), *Pierre Bourdieus Theorie des Sozialen. Probleme und Perspektiven*, Konstanz, 2003, p. 178.

28 Sufficient financial resources also had to be available in order to guarantee the ‘impartiality’ and the willingness of the agent.

29I.Magnesia 100 = ISAM 33; P.Gauthier, *RPh* 64 (1990), p. 63 n. 7. On the extensive bibliography pertaining to the festival of Artemis Leukophryene see KJ. RIGSBY, *Asyilia. Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1996, n° 66. The (renewed) inscription of the decree dates from the middle of the 2nd cent. BC, when a further decree concerning the revival of the festival was resolved upon. The original decree dates possibly after 208/7 or 206 BC, i.e. after the introduction of the festival Leukophryena. On the date see M. Kreeb, “Hermogenes – Quellen und Datierungsprobleme”, in W. Hoepfner, E.-L. Scftwandner (eds), *Hermogenes und die hochhellenistische Architektur. Internationales Kolloquium im Rahmen des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archdologie*, Berlin 1988, Mainz, 1990, p. 103-121. See also Lupu o.c. (n. 2), p. 107 sq. For the new and renewed festivals in the Hellenistic period see A. Chaniotis, “Sich selbst feiern? Städtische Feste des Hellenismus”, in M. Wörrle, P. Zanker (eds), *Stadt und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus*, Munich, 1995 (*Vestigia* 47), p. 164-168.

30I.Magnesia 100 B, 1. 3-10: ὑπὲρ τῆς καθιδρύσεως τοῦ ξοάνον τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Λευκοφρυηνῆς εἰς τὸν κατεσκευασμένον αὐτῇ καθ’ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν

ἐν μηνὶ Ἀρτεμισιῶνι τῇ ἑκτῇ ἱσταμένου σπονδὰς καὶ θυσίας, συντελεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ ὑφ' ἐκάστου τῶν κατοικούντων θυσίας πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν κατ' οἴκου δύναμιν ἐπὶ τῶν κατασκευασθησομένων ὑπ' αὐτῶν βωνῶν ("For the consecration of the image of Artemis Leukophryene in the temple built for her, libations and sacrifices should be offered annually on the sixth of the month Artemision. Every one of the inhabitants should also offer sacrifices in front of their door, according to his financial possibilities, on altars built for this purpose"). This regulation is mentioned only in the later decree; thus one cannot conclude with certainty that the active participation of the populace through setting up private altars had been intended from the beginning. Furthermore, the engraving on the altars of the name of Artemis with the epithet *Nikephoros*, probably due to the victory over Aristonikos, also underlines the fact that this kind of participation was proposed only in the later decree.

31 ἐπειδὴ θείας ἐπινοίας καὶ παραστάσεως γενομένης τῷ σύνπαντι πλήθει τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἐς τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τοῦ ναοῦ συντέλειαν εἰληφεν ὁ [Π]αρθενῶν τῇ [κ]ατὰ μέρος ἐπαυξήσει τῶν ἔργων καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια πλείστον διαφέρων τοῦ ἀπολειφθέντος ἡμῖν τὸ παλαιὸν τῶν προγόνων, πάτριον δ' ἐστὶν τῷ δήμῳ πρὸς τὸ θεῖν εὐσεβῶς διακειμένῳ πᾶσιν μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς αἰεὶ ποτε καταξίας θυσίας τε καὶ τιμὰς ἀπονέμειν, μάλιστα δὲ τῇ ἀρχηγέτιδι τῆς πόλεως Ἀρτέμιδι Λευκοφρυνηῇ, τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ καὶ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ τε δήθου καὶ τῶν εὐνοούντων τῷ πλήθει τῶν Μαγνήτων σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις τοῖς τούτων.

32 See also A. Chaniotis, *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften*, Stuttgart, 1988, p. 34-37.

33 J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle: Its Responses and Operations with a Catalogue of Responses*, Berkeley *et al.*, 1978, p. 258 sq. (H45).

34Cf. Jameson, *l.c.* (n. 20), p. 339: "The vague if frequent assurance that performance was 'according to ancestral practice' (κατὰ τὰ πάτρια) is as close as we come"; Lupu, *o.c.* (n. 2), p. 109: "Cult performance is very much the product of tradition, i.e. the accumulation of practices, customs, usages, rules, all of which ... are entailed in the term νόμος. These are the primary source for and substance of cult regulations, standing behind what the documents may (inter alia) refer to as τὰ πάτρια or τὰ νομιζόμενα."

35 The "ancestral customs" corresponds to Bourdieu's concept of habitus: "The habitus fulfils a function which another philosophy consigns to a transcendental conscience: it is a socialized body, a structured body, a body which has incorporated the immanent structures of a world or of a particular sector of that world – a field – and which structures the perception of that world as well as action in that world" [Bourdieu, *o.c.* (n. 10), p. 81]. On the mimetic processes as the basis of the performance of the ritual actions see G. Gebauer, C. Wulf, *Spiel, Ritual, Geste. Mimetisches Handeln in der sozialen Welt*, Reinbeck, 1998.

36Cf. LSS 14, 1. 18-20: Athen (οὐ μόνον διατηροῦντες τὰ πάτρια, ἀλλὰ καὶ

προσεπ[αύ]]ξον(τες) τὰς τε θυσίας καὶ τιμὰς καλῶς καὶ εὖσεβῶς, ἵνα καὶ παρὰ θεῶ[ν] κτήσωνται τὰς καταξίας χάριτας); *LSS* 121, 1. 12-17: Ephesos (τοὺς παιᾶνας ᾄδειν ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς πο[ν]παῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς παννυσίν αἷς δεῖ γενέσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ εὖεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἑφδσίων); *LSAM* 12, 1. 10-12: Pergamon (τὰ με[ν] ἄλλα περὶ τῶν θυόν[των τ]ῇ Νι[κηφόρῳ Ἀθηνᾶ] γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον]).

37 For interpretations of this Herodotean passage see more recently L. Maurizio, “Delphic Oracles as Oral Performances: Authenticity and Historical Evidence”, *Classical Antiquity* 16 (1997), p. 308-334; H. Bowden, “Oracles for Sale”, in P. Derow, R. Parker (eds), *Herodotus and His World. Essays for a Conference in Memory of G. Forrest*, Oxford, 2003, 272-274; W. Blösel, *Themistokles bei Herodot: Spiegel Athens im finften Jahrhundert. Studien zur Geschichte und historiographischen Konstruktion des griechischen Freiheitskampfes 480 v. Chr.*, Stuttgart, 2004 (*Historia*, 183), p. 64-74, 91-107 with bibliography; j. Dillery, “Chresmologues and Manteis: Independent Diviners and the Problem of Authority”, in Johnston – struck (eds), o.c. (n. 23), p. 209-219.

38 Maurizio, *l.c.* (n. 37) p. 316.

39 On the identity and role of this group see now Dillery, *l.c.* (n. 37), p. 212-217.

40 For a different point of view see Dillery, *l.c.* (n. 37), p. 211-2, who thinks of him not simply as “a far-sighted statesman”, but rather as a “clairvoyant religious expert who can see what other experts and authorities cannot.” See also W. Blösel, “The Herodotean Picture of Themistokles: A Mirror of Fifth-Century Athens”, in N. Luraghi (ed.), *The Historian’s Craft in the Age of Herodotus*, Oxford, 2001, p. 179-197, esp. 195-196.

41 Parker, *l.c.* (n. 23), p. 298, states generally that “the corollary is that group that had resolved to seek a sign came close to a commitment to accepting the god’s advice or verdict. No clear case of disobedience to a specifically solicited oracular response is recorded.” Parker refers (*ibid*, with n. 3) further to the specific Herodotean passage as “a probably apologetic fiction.”

42 P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge, 2002¹⁴ [1977], p. 196.

43 See M. Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Tübingen, 1972¹⁵ [1925], p. 28 sq. (S16). For scholars such as Talcott Parsons and Michel Foucault power is an inherent property of the social structure: T. Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, New York, 1968; *id.*, “On the Concept of Political Power”, in S. Lukes (ed.), *Power. Readings in Social and Political Theory*, New York, 1986, p. 94-143.; M. Foucault, *Die Archäologie des Wissens*. Frankfurt a. Main, 1986. Bourdieu, o.c. (n. 10), p. 34, speaks of the “field of power” and defines it as follows: “The field of power (which should not be confused with the political field) is not a field like the others. It is the space of the relations of force between the different kinds of capital or, more precisely, between the agents who possess a sufficient amount of one of the different kinds of capital to be in a position to dominate the corresponding field, whose struggles intensify whenever the relative value of the different kinds of capital is questioned.”

44Cf. Bowden, *l.c.* (n. 37), p. 273, who thinks of the “wooden wall”-story as one “designed with an Athenian audience in mind.”

45Cf. Bourdieu, *o.c.* (n. 10), p. 32-33.

46Wulf, *l.c.* (n. 27), p. 178, 180.

47Cf. SEG 26, 121, 1. 13-14: Athens (κατὰ [τὰ πάτρια νόμιμα]); SEG 26, 98, 1. 9-10: Athens ([ἐπόμπευς]αν καὶ τὰς πομπὰς... [ὡς μάλισ]τα τοῖς πατρίοις ἀκολούθως εὐταντοῦντες); SEG 30, 80, 1. 17-18: Athens ([τὰ] μὲν προνενομοθετημέν[α]) ... κύρια εἶναι); LSS 14, 1. 18-20: Athen (οὐ μόνον διατηροῦντες τὰ πάτρια, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεπ[αύ]ξον(τες) τὰς τε θυσίας καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καλῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς).

48 See Fischer-Lichte, *l.c.* (n. 8); Wulf, *l.c.* (n. 27), p. 178.

49Wulf, *l.c.* (n. 27), p. 179.

50 So Fischer-Lichte, *l.c.* (n. 8), p. 39.

51 *Ibid.*

52 *Ibid.*

53 See *infra* the discussion of the motivation clause in the decree for the oracle of Apollo Koropaios; see also for some examples A. Chaniotis, “Negotiating Religion in the Cities of the Eastern Roman Empire”, *Kernos* 16 (2003), p. 177-190; *id.*, “Das Bankett des Damas und der Hymnos des Sosandros: Öffentlicher Diskurs über Rituale in den griechischen Städten der Kaiserzeit”, in D. Harth, G. Schenk (eds), *Ritualdynamik. Kulturübergreifende Studien zur Theorie und Geschichte rituellen Handelns*, Heidelberg, 2004, p. 291-304.

54Bourdieu, *o.c.* (n. 9), p. 238: “In the case in question, where the aim is to sanction a transgression, the group authorises itself to do what it does through the work officialization, which consists in collectivising the practice by making it public, delegated and synchronized.”

55 This becomes visible when one compares the two decrees concerning the festival of Isiteria in Magnesia (*I. Magnesia* 103A and B): In the second decree certain changes were undertaken, however the old regulations continued to remain valid and were mentioned as τὸ πᾶν(τριον ἔθος). The chronological difference between the two decrees is probably on the order of about 50 years.

56Cf. Osborne, *l.c.* (n. 22), p. 358: “Rather than performing a performance, the publicly displayed texts of Athenian decrees are an independent inscribed performance”. See also the conclusion of C.W. Hedrick, Jr., “Writing, Reading, and Democracy”, in R. Osborne, S. Horn-blower (eds), *Ritual, Finance, Politics. Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis*, Oxford, 1994, p. 174: “The democratic power of writing lies not in its distant, authoritarian intelligibility, but in the active, social interaction of citizens, literate and illiterate, with the vague, inscrutable hieroglyphs which remind them and assure them of what everyone already knows.”

57 The clauses concerned with the writing of such resolutions also indicate their special significance, for not only explicit instructions concerning the type of

writing are given (κοῖλα γράμματα: LSAM 3, 1. 15), but anyone destroying or damaging an inscribed stone is threatened with being cursed: LSAM 59, 1. 7-8: ἦν δέ τις [ἐκκινόψη ἢ] ἀφανίση τὰ γεγραμμένα] πασχέτω ὡς ἱερόσυλος, (Iasos). The regulations regarding setting up the inscribed stone, too, testify to a special relationship between what was written and the gods: ἀναγραφῆναι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν τῇ ἐξέδρᾳ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἐν δεξιᾷ πρὸς τὴν αἰωνίαν διαμονὴν τῆς εὐσεβίας τῶν θεῶν (LSAM 69, 1. 6-9: Stratonikeia). See also M. Beard, “The Function of the Written Word in Roman Religion”, in J.H. Humphrey (ed.), *Literacy in the Roman World*, Ann Arbor, 1991 (JRA Suppl., 3), p. 38; A. Bresson, “Les cités grecques et leurs inscriptions”, in A. Bresson, A.-M. Cocula, C. Pébarthe (eds), *L’écriture publique du pouvoir*, Bordeaux, 2005, p. 163-166.

“Look who is talking now!”: Speaker and Communication in Greek Metrical Sacred Regulations

1

Ivana Petrović and Andrej Petrović

Ritual Prescriptions in Ancient Greece

1

Greek religion is often described as a religion with no sacred books, actually as a religion so free of any sort of canonized rules, that it is barely one religion at all, but a collection of cults of countless poleis, loosely bound together by an essentially elusive idea of pan-Hellenism and beliefs that are pan-Hellenic.

2

Of the relatively meagre material about actual ritual practice in the ancient Greek world that we possess, the best insight is given by epigraphically transmitted regulations concerning the performance of rituals.

3

These texts confronted the ancient worshipper from his very first step in the sacred space, from the horos over the temenos to the temple and instructed him about the ritual, and especially about his own rules of conduct in this respect, of which we know from a whole range of inscriptions: cult-calendars, formal decrees introduced with the formulaic ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, official contracts, public records, horos-inscriptions, dedicatory inscriptions, even oracular responses.

4

In the light of the question of how the rituals were communicated in the Greek world, the formal richness of the sacred regulations is of special importance.

5

These texts not only provided one with different information, they were also claiming different authorities. Even though the interpretation of the sacred regulations was certainly not always the responsibility of the single recipient – one could rely on the help of the priests

6

, *theopropoi*,

7

exegetai

8

, *manteis*

9

– these were not always ready to hand, and it could be asked whether a possible result of the mere presence of the bulk of ritual regulations in a sanctuary might have been a feeling of insecurity due to too much information and the consequent need to cautiously examine the authority which determined a regulation.

10

Not every instance regulating a ritual is equipped with the same amount of authority. Two passages of Plato may illustrate the opposite ends in this respect. One passage from the *Statesman* attests the authority of the priests and *manteis*:

There are men who have to do with divination and possess a portion of a certain menial science; for they are supposed to be interpreters of the gods for men [...] The priests, according to law and custom, know how to give the gods, by means of sacrifices, the gifts that please them from us and by prayers to ask for us the gain of good things from them.

11

On the other hand, a passage from *Euthyphro* discloses that not all those who took it upon themselves to serve their communities with the means of their religious expertise necessarily received a suitable gift of gratitude, as *Euthyphro* reveals in his discussion with Socrates:

ἐμοῦ... ὅταν τι λέγω ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ περὶ τῶν θεῶν, προλέγων αὐτοῖς τὰ μέλλοντα, καταγγέλλοντα, καταγελῶσιν ὡς μαινομένου.

Whenever I say anything in the assembly concerning divine things,
and foresee what is to come, they laugh at me as if I were insane.

12

4

Therefore, just as not all experts possessed the same amount of authority, it is probable that not all inscriptions bearing the sacred regulations had the same impact upon the recipients.

13

5

In this paper, we will focus upon exactly this question: *what authorities* set out the rules communicated in the sacred regulations and did their presence in itself shape *the form* of the texts containing a ritual, and if so, how? We will also try to ponder the question of how and whether the *communication itself* was ritualised in the Greek sacred regulations.

6

We will, while considering other texts as well, concentrate primarily on the phenomenon of the metrical sacred regulations, the group of texts which seem to us particularly interesting as far as questions of ritual and communication are concerned, and which, as far as we can see, have as a separate group received no scholarly attention so far.

14

7

In order to investigate the authority of those prescribing the ritual regulations,

15

as well as the interdependence of the authority of the implied speaker and of the spatial placement of the regulation, in order to see who is talking to whom, when, where and in what form, we will first define and list the group of texts we call metrical sacred regulations, and will then proceed to examine the types of communication and types of ritual in them; we will end with a chapter on the mechanism of the construction of the authority.

Greek metrical sacred regulations

8

Metrical sacred regulations appear in numerous textual contexts: we find them quoted in larger inscriptional dossiers,

16

surprisingly appearing as an integral part of a sacred regulation written in prose,

17

in inscriptional hymns,

18

etc.

9

Before we consider the questions of the definition and types of metrical sacred regulations, their textual contexts and physical surroundings, we will introduce the texts themselves. As already mentioned, there has been no systematic collection or investigation of the metrical sacred regulations thus far. Even though we do aim at offering a complete list of the known epigraphically transmitted texts, limiting ourselves to the eastern part of the Greek world, we are confident that more than just a few have been missed. The following list has been generated on the basis of a search through the standard collections of sacred regulations (von Prott – Ziehen; *LSCG*; *ISAM*; *LSS*), a systematic query of the *EBGR*, *CEG* I-II, *SGO* I-IV, and a partial use of the *SEG*.

19

Some of the texts we found are absent from the list because they have survived just well enough to inform us that they might have been sacred regulations and that they were probably in meter, but apart from that, not much more can be deduced. The information about the texts includes most important editions with a bibliography, genre of the text considered, data on the meter and length, date and provenance of the inscription, as well as general information on the contents.

10

List of the metrical sacred regulations (in chronological order): 1.

11

1.

12

InscriptionSGO I 01/09/01.

20

13

Genre An oracle of Grynean Apollo for Kaunos.

14

Meter / length 1) 11 lines question in prose,

2) 2 hexameters (answer).

Date / place 4th-3rd BC, Kaunos (Caria)

Content Cult foundation on god's initiative; The city asked which gods should be honoured in order to increase fertility of the land. The god answered that, should the city honour Phoebus, it would bind the fame of the city with unbreakable binds for ever and ever.

2.

EditionSGO I 03/07/01, v. 74 sq.

21

Genre Hymn for Seleukos.

Meter / length Paeanic hymn, 3 verses (at least).

Date / place 281 BC, Erythrai.

Content The metrical sacred regulation is part of a larger dossier written on stone; The contents of the dossier form: 1) a sacred regulation of the Asclepios' cult (written in prose); 2) a paeon for Apollo; 3) a paeon for Asclepios; 4) a paeon for Seleukos. The paeon for Seleukos instructs the reader to sing "Seleukos, the son of the dark-haired Apollo, him who himself was born from the one with the golden lyre" while offering a libation.

3.

EditionSGO I 01/19/02.

22

Genre An oracle of Apollo dealing with sacrifice to Poseidon Asphaleios; part of a dossier on an altar.

Meter / length The introductory line (θεὸς ἔχρησεν) is followed by 6 hexameters (oracle with the sacred regulation), 5 lines prose

inscription (confirmation that the demands of the oracle have been fulfilled), 2 elegiac couplets.

Date / place 2nd BC, Didyma (Merkelbach: “In der Zwingermauer vor der Ostfront des Tempels”).

Content The question, usually formulated in prose and preceding the oracular response, is unfortunately missing. Some kind of a maladroit sign appeared (a bird?) and the god advised sacrificing to Poseidon Asphaleios (“if you want to save the city, sacrifice to Poseidon A.”). The prose inscription and the elegiac epigram confirm that the advice of the god was followed and that the altar has been set up.

4.

Edition SGO IV 18/19/01.

23

Genre An oracle of Apollo of Claros

24

concerning protection from pirates.

Meter / length (at least) 13 hexameters.

Date / place 1st BC, Syedra in Pamphylia.

Content The god gives advice on how to repel the attacks of the pirates. His recommendations are twofold:

1) In order to keep away the pirates, set up a statue of Ares in the city-centre (ἐν μεσάτῳ πόλιος), flanked by the statues of Dike and Hermes. The statue should be beaten with thyrsos and bound by Hermes.

The god interprets the ritual: “That is the way to make Ares peaceful towards you”. A text describing a similar ritual is found in another metrical inscription (SGO III 14/07/01, at least 4 hexameters, Merkelbach-Stauber (o.c. [n. 231], n° 16), a 1st BC oracle of Clarian Apollo for the citizens of Ikonion, the capital of Lykaonia. There,

setting up a statue of Ares flanked by Hermes and Thesmos is advised.

2). On the other hand, it does not suffice to perform the ritual: The citizens are also advised to organize resistance and punish the pirates severely.

5.

EditionSGO II 09/07/01

25

Genre Dedicatory epigram with a sacred regulation concerning sacrifice and a prayer before the statue of Zeus Ourios.

Meter / length 4 elegiac couplets.

Date / place 1st BC/AD, Kalchedon, Bithynia (possibly a base of a statue).

Content Whoever sails from the harbour ought to say a prayer to Zeus Ourios and sacrifice a cake (?) to the xoanon. The xoanon was set up by a certain Philon as a sign of gratitude for a safe sailing.

6.

EditionSGO II 09/01/01.

26

Genre An oracle of Clarian Apollo considering a procession in Kios (Bithynia).

Meter / length At least 4 hexameters.

Data / place 1st AD, Kios.

Content A female divinity is to be honoured by a procession of women. The objects and clothing items not allowed at the procession are described (a golden basket should be left at home; the women must take part in the procession without shoes). It is explained why

the items are forbidden – the goddess will only *respond to the prayers from the heart and will ignore the others.*

7.

EditionSGO I 01/23/02.

27

Genre An oracle of Apollo considering the priesthood of Athena.

Meter / length 1) 7 lines in prose (question),

2) 8 hexameters of oracular answer.

Date / place 1st AD, Herakleia under Latmos.

Content The citizens of Herakleia ask whether the priesthood of Athena should be sold for life or annually. The god decides that the priestess should be chosen annually and must belong to the elite (1. 13 / 1. 5 of the oracle: γένει ἡδὲ ἡδὲ βίου τάξει).

8.

EditionLSS 108.

28

Genre Regulations concerning ritual purity.

Meter / length 1 elegiac couplet.

Date / place 1st AD, Rhodes.

Content It is not possible to determine with certainty which cult the inscription pertained to. The remaining fragments begin with what seems to have been a rather extensive and detailed list of possible sources of impurity. The list is followed by a general and vaguely expressed notice (an elegiac couplet) about the purity of the mind being preferred to the cleanness of the body, which is necessary in order to enter the temple.

The elegiac couplet is followed by a list of sacrificial animals.

9.

EditionSGO II 08/01/01.

29

Genre An oracle of Zeus Ammon from Siwa Oasis for Kyzikos, concerning a sacrifice ritual; part of a dossier.

Meter / length 1) 5 lines of prose text concerning the circumstances of the oracle,

2) 10 lines of hexameter.

Date / place AD 130, Kyzikos.

Content The oracle informs the citizens that they should not anger the gods and then try to soothe their anger with gold, but should humbly take care of the sacrifices and send a *theoria* to Claros, in order to perform the hymns and sacrifices.

10.

EditionSGO I 02/01/02.

30

Genre An oracle of Delphic Apollo concerning the building of a temple for Dionysos (establishment of a cult).

Meter / length 1) 11 lines of question (prose)

2) 12 hexameters (answer).

Date / place 2rd cent. AD (date of the republishing) Magnesia on Maiander.

Content In an undetermined past, Magnesians ask how they should

interpret an omen (a tree was destroyed by the wind and consequently a statue of Dionysos (ἀφείδρυμα) was found in it. The god answered that a temple for Dionysos should be built in the city, and that the Maenads should be obtained from Thebes. At the same time, the conditions for the choice of the priest were determined; the god demands him to be εὐάρτιος, and ἐγνός.

11.

EditionSGO I 03/02/01.

31

Genre An oracle of Apollo (of Claros?) concerning protection against a pestilence; institution of the cult of Artemis of Ephesos.

Meter / length At least 18 hexameters.

Date / place 2rd cent. AD, Ephesus.

Content A city on Hermos (in Lydia or Phrygia) asked an oracle of Apollo how to repel a pestilence. The god gave advice on this matter, saying that a golden image (μορφή) of Artemis of Ephesus should be consecrated in a temple of Artemis. The rituals including waxdolls, hymns, dance, feast and a festival are described in detail. The text ends with a pledge of a severe punishment in the case that the god's demands are not fulfilled.

12.

EditionSGO I 04/01/01.

32

Genre An oracle of Apollo of Claros concerning protection against pestilence.

Meter / length 1) 12 lines question in prose,

2) 28 verses of answer (at least). The verses consist of hexameters, iambic trimeters and tetrameter, anapaests and trochees.

90 **Date / place** 2nd AD, Caesarea Troketta.

91 **Content** In the question the reason for the publication of the
inscription (setting up a statue of Apollo) is explained and the
finances invested in the endeavour are given in detail. Apollo starts
his answer by a question concerning the motives of the Caesareans
for their visit and then answers the question himself. Further on, he
explains what should be done in order to repel the pestilence and
suggests a purification ritual (sprinkling the water), sacrifices, as well
as setting up a statue of Apollo.

92 **13.**

93 **Edition**SGO I 06/02/01.

94 33

95 **Genre** An oracle of Clarian Apollo concerning a pestilence in
Pergamon.

96 **Meter / length** 1) 10 lines of question in prose (at least),

97 2) 29 hexameters of answer (at least).

98 **Date / place** 2nd cent. AD Pergamon, agora.

99 **Content** The citizens of Pergamon ask the oracle for help in repelling
the pestilence. The question is not fully preserved, but it can be
deduced from the answer. The preserved text of the question deals
with the circumstances of the publication of the inscription: it is
decided that the oracle must be published on stone, obviously in
more than one copy. The stones should be set up in the agora as well
as in the temples (11. 9-10).

The god suggests that the ephebes of Pergamon should be divided
into four groups, each with a leader; all of them should sing hymns:
the first one should sing hymns for Zeus, the second one for Dionysos,
the third one for Athena, and the fourth one for Asclepius. The type
of sacrifice for each god is specified, as well as the duration of the

sacrifice (it should last for 7 days). The ephebes should be accompanied by their fathers and the sacrificial meal is followed by a libation.

Two further inscriptions from Pergamon (SGO I 06/02/02 and 06/02/16, respectively hymns for Zeus and “the hymn for Asclepius of Aelius Aristides”) might well represent two of the four hymns sung.

14.

EditionSGO I 01/20/03.

34

Genre An oracle of Apollo concerning the priestess of Athena Polias.

Meter / length 1) Question consisting of 8 lines in prose,

2) 15 hexameters (answer).

Date / place After AD 212, Miletus (?), round column.

Content Confirmation of the priestess of Athena Polias; the god confirms that a woman of noble origin, who need not be a virgin, may become a priestess.

15.

EditionSGO I 01/17/01.

35

Genre Norms considering ritual purity.

36

Meter / length 3 elegiac couplets.

Date / place The reign of Hadrian

37

; Euromos (Caria).

Content The text was inscribed on the door-pillar of the entrance to

the temple of Zeus Lepsynos. It informs the visitor that the purity of his soul as well as a just mind are prerogatives for entering the sanctuary (εὐίερον).

Ergon and temenos (conduct of the ritual and the access to the temple) of the immortals are forbidden for those who are impure, and in the case of transgression, they will be punished by ἱερὸς δόμος. The respectful ones will be accordingly awarded.

16.

Edition *I.Lindos II, n° 484.*

38

Genre A building inscription with divination elements. Sacred regulation regarding purity of mind and a sacrifice regulation regarding the temple of Athena in Lindos.

39

Meter / length 3 elegiac couplets.

Date / place Imperial period. Lindos, on the northern corner of the Athena temple.

Content The inscription provides for information on the patrons and reasons for building the temple (divination). Further, it is stated who may enter the temple and sacrifice; purity (of the mind) is the necessary prerogative. The ones fulfilling the demands will be rewarded by πράξεις καλαί.

17.

Edition *SGO I 01/19/07.*

40

Genre An oracle of Apollo concerning a cult practice.

Meter / length 1) 2 lines of question in prose,

2) 1 hexameter (answer).

Date / place Imperial period, Didyma.

Content A question is posed whether the cult practice should be changed. The god answers that it would be better to conduct the cult practice as it was traditionally done (πατρικῇ γνώμῃ).

18.

EditionSGO III 16/31/01.

41

Genre An oracle of Clarian Apollo concerning an altar for himself.

Meter / length 6 hexameters plus a text in prose explaining the origin and dedicants of the altar.

Date / place AD 20-250, Appia or Kotiaion (Phrygia).

Content The god demands an altar to be built for him, as well as the holy rites to be performed on a monthly basis, and explains his own merits as well as his capacities.

19.

EditionSGO I 01/19/05.

42

Genre An oracle of Apollo considering the cult of Demeter and her priestess; part of a dossier.

Meter / length 1) 7 lines of question in prose,

2) 3 hexameters of the oracular answer (at least),

3) A question (missing),

4) 16 hexameters of the oracular answer (at least).

Date / place 2nd-3rd cent. AD, found near Miletus.

Content The first question and answer concerns the query of a priestess of Demeter, apparently an interpreter of dreams, who asks why the gods do not appear in peoples' dreams as often as before, especially since she became a priestess.

The second question (missing) concerns the cult of Demeter in Miletus; it is not certain whether it was the same person who posed the question, or whether it was a query of the city of Miletus. The answer of the god is that "all humanity, especially the citizens of Miletus, should honour Demeter". An instruction for a ritual consisting of a secret rite is given by the god, but nothing more can be told.

20.

EditionSGO I 01/19/06.

43

Genre An oracle concerning the transposition of an altar of Tyche.

Meter / length 1) 14 lines of question in prose,

2) 1 hexameter (answer).

Date / placeca. AD 200, Didyma.

Content The question is posed as to whether the treasurer should transpose the altar of Tyche from Apollo's garden (παράδεισος) to the altar of All Gods. The god answered: "One should display honour (τιμᾶν) and respect (σέβεσθαι) for all the blissful gods".

21.

EditionSGO I 01/19/01.

44

Genre An oracle of Apollo concerning the preferred type of sacrifice; “quasi-sacred regulation”.

45

Meter / length 13 hexameters.

Date / place 2nd/3rd cent. AD Didyma, house of the prophet.

Content The question might have concerned pestilence and how to get rid of it.

Apollo prefers hymns (old, rather than new) to flesh sacrifices (sheep) or to statues of any material (gold, silver, etc.). The reward for the pious ones is stated: he who regards the gods will always receive a blameless gift of gratitude.

22.

EditionSGO I 02/02/01.

46

Genre An oracle of Delphic Apollo pertaining to protection against an earthquake.

Meter / length 1) 4 lines prose (question),

2) 9 hexameters (answer).

Date / place 3rd cent. AD, Tralleis (Caria).

Content The priest of Zeus made enquiry as to how the city might be protected from an earthquake. The god answered that the city should sacrifice to Poseidon. It is determined what should be sacrificed and by whom – the priest should sacrifice roots, fruits and corn with a pure hand (1. 8: φοιβῆ χερσί

47

). Further, the form of the ritual address is precisely determined, the list of divine epithets is provided; the citizens are asked to sing the god a hymn in a particular fashion (the contents of the hymn are

given), as well as to perform the ritual dance for Poseidon and Zeus.

23.

EditionSGO IV 17/08/01.

48

Genre An oracle of Apollo of Patara concerning the priestess of Artemis in Sidyma.

Meter / length The oracle (at least 14 hexameters) is a part of a larger dossier consisting of a letter from the city of Tlos to Sidyma (1); an aretalogy of Apollo and Artemis (2); a notice about the origin of the oracle (3); the oracle itself (4).

Date / place 3rd cent. AD (the stone); the oracle middle or beginning of the 2nd cent. BC (it is 129 years older than the stone, as specified in the text 3); Sidyma.

Content The priestess of Artemis should be a virgin, in order for the temple to be ἄρνός; the sacrifice to Artemis should be performed annually. It is stressed that the oracle follows the will of Apollo (v. 1, 3, 14); apart from Apollo, it is the will of Artemis as well.

24.

Edition*Lindos* II, n° 487.

49

Genre Two regulations concerning ritual purity.

50

Meter / length 2 elegiac couplets.

Date / place Imperial period (3rd cent. AD); on a pillar stone of the gate to the temenos of Athena Lindia, Lindos.

Content The text consists of two parts; the first part (20 lines in prose) states the rules for ritual purity in detail and lists various

sources of impurity.

177

The second part, consisting of 2 elegiac couplets, expresses a direct warning for the impure, who should keep away from the temple, and at the same time welcomes all those who are pure. It should be noted that the cult personnel is obliged to follow a different (and less stringent) set of rules as far as their purity is concerned. The prose inscription offers a very detailed and elaborate list of possible sources of impurity (μιάσμα), whereas the metrical one remains very unspecific on the subject.

178

25.

179

EditionSGO I 01/19/08.

51

180

Genre 2 oracular answers of Apollo concerning the cult of Soteira-Kore.

181

Meter / length 1st oracular answer 1): 1 hexameter;

182

2nd oracular answer 2): 2 hexameters.

183

Date / place AD 300, Didyma, south-eastern corner of the Apollo temple.

184

Content A prophet asks whether an altar for Soteira-Kore should be built within the altar of All Gods. The god answered the following: Σοτίρης Κούρης τιμὴν περιβωμίδα ῥέζε. In the second question, the prophet asks how hymns to Kore should be sung, and the god determines the epithets and the contents of the song.

185

26.

186

EditionSGO IV 17/06/01.

52

187

Genre A Clarian oracle in Oinoanda.

188

Meter / length 6 hexameters.

189

Date / place 3rdAD, Oinoanda, city walls.

190

Content There are two speakers in 6 hexameters: in 1-3 the sun's rays explain the essence of the god and their relationship to him; in 4-6 the prophet explains the essence of the god as well and determines the form of a prayer (sacred regulation) addressing the religious community directly; beneath this altar there is another one with the following inscription: Χρωματὶς Θεῶ Ὑψίστω τὸν λύχνον εὐχ[ή]ν.

53

The inscription stood on the city walls of Oinoanda, at the place where the rays of the rising sun first fall upon the city.

3. Types of communication and types of ritual in Greek metrical sacred regulations

3.1. General characteristics of oracular sacred regulations

31.1. Form of address and type of communication

191

The sacred regulations, which go back to decrees of the assembly often begin with the formulaic phrase ἔδοξεν τῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. If we pay close attention to the form of address and to the way the information in them is being communicated, we can conclude that the communication is generally impersonal and unidirectional

54

: these texts do not address the reader in the second person, and they do not present themselves as part of a two-way communication. Instead, they often employ the third person and the unidirectional communication form. Their content is reduced to pure information, the form is simple, usually highly repetitive and aims at precision. Their language is clear, unambiguous and rather unimaginative. In short, these regulations are all about *prodesse, non delectare*.

192

The form and the type of communication are quite different in the metrical sacred regulations. Of the 26 inscriptions presented above

55

, only three employ the typical, indirect form of address

56

, but even if we examine these closely, we come to the conclusion that the indirect form is actually deceptive: two of them are in fact oracular responses and imply that the speaker is the god (even if his message is spoken in general terms and impersonally): text n° 17 is an oracle of Apollo concerning an alteration in cult practice. The god is opposed to a change and claims that the traditional way is the best (ἔστι τελεῖν πατριῇ γνώμη λῶον καὶ ἄμεινον.) Text n° 20, also an oracle of Apollo, contains 14 lines of question in prose (basically considering the dilemma of the treasurer: whether he should transpose the altar of Tyche to the altar of All Gods or not) and an answer, formulaically introduced with θεὸς ἔχρησεν: All Gods should be honoured. Even though the narrative forms of both oracles are highly impersonal, the context implies a two-way communication and a certain form of directness: after all, the community is asking, the god is answering, and a certain level of interactive communication is indeed extant.

193

All other specimens of metrical sacred regulations demonstrate a high level of directness in communication. Twenty inscriptions contain *direct addresses* to the city or community, most of them from the god himself. Also significant is the fact that 18 of them are oracles, mostly of Apollo, who is not only obviously reacting to his worshippers, as he is answering their questions, but is furthermore addressing them very directly, urging them to do as he pleases. For instance, inscription n° 4 tells a story of the small city Syedra in Pamphylia that suffered constant pirate attacks. After asking the god for help, the Clarian Apollo advises the citizens to set up a statue of Ares in the centre of the city and flank it by the statues of Dike and Hermes. Ares should further be beaten with *thyrsos* and bound by Hermes. All of this is communicated in the second person plural, the text being filled with imperatives, which makes it very clear that it is the god himself who is speaking here. Especially interesting is the argumentative strategy of the address, which could be briefly

summed up with the maxim “believe in God, but lock the car, too” (apart from the advised introduction of the new ritual, the citizens of Syedra are urged to organize resistance and punish the pirates severely). Furthermore, the god is not only presented as directly addressing the city, he is also providing an actual explanation of the recommended rite (which is an unusual phenomenon indeed): his interpretation of the beating of the statue can be summed up as “that is how Ares will be peaceful towards you”.

57

194

The oracular sacred regulations typically consist of prose text and an answer in verse (almost always composed in hexameters). The text in prose is either an explanation of circumstances or simply the transcript of the question posed to the god. N° 8 is a sacred regulation of the former type: the prose text explains the origin and dedication of an altar, whereas 6 hexameter verses are an oracle of Clarian Apollo urging the community to build an altar for him and to perform the holy rites every month.

195

A typical representative of the latter type would be text n° 22: The priest of Zeus from the city of Tralleis enquires about the protection of the city; his question to the oracle of Apollo is preserved in 4 prose lines. The answer of the god consists of 9 hexameter verses. Apollo is addressing the city directly (ὦ πόλις) and urging it to perform a sacrificial ritual for Poseidon, determining the type of sacrifice, the performer of the sacrifice, the form and the content of the ritual address (hymns), as well as specifying the ritual dance in honour of the god.

196

The majority of metrical sacred regulations presented above are oracular responses (18:26), which, at least to some extent, explains their metrical form.

58

The community obviously took pains to inscribe the answer of the oracle in the form in which it was presented to them. Interventions are notable in the prose text, as it is usually the concise explanation of the circumstances of the prophecy. The words of the god are more often than not introduced with words such as χρῆσιμός

59

or θεὸς ἔχρησεν

60

and are thus clearly marked and separated from the rest of the inscription. The directness of the oracle is one of its prime characteristics; it practically urges the community to do as it is told, as it contains many instances of imperatives, vocatives and second persons singular or, more often, plural. The fact that it is written in meter is also a characteristic that sets it out and clearly marks it as something special, i.e. as the utterances of a deity.

3.1. 2. General statements

61

197

It is an obvious characteristic of the oracular genre that not only a particular situation is being treated, but also a more general instruction concerning human behaviour or the relationship to the gods is being offered. General statements of this type can often be found in oracular responses to a question regarding a particular problem. Exemplary are the statements such as: “all of humanity, and especially the citizens of Miletus, should honour Demeter”

62

; “I [the god Apollo is speaking] am the one who gives fruits to the mortals whom I want to save and can make famous”

63

; “the goddess (probably Demeter) only hears prayers from the heart and ignores the others”

64

“the traditional rite is absolutely the best”

65

. Another nice example of the maxim “can’t beat the tradition” comes from Didyma (n° 21), where an oracular answer to a (now lost) question offers a miniature but impressive poetic piece of advice: the speaker of the text is the god himself, the form of address is direct, and the whole 13 hexameters of the oracle are a treatise on tradition vs. innovation in Greek poetry at the time of the Second Sophistic. In short, Apollo stresses that he prefers poetry as a gift to animal sacrifices or golden statues, and goes on to specify that he much prefers old hymns to new ones. Having thus instructed the community on what to offer to the god, the oracle ends with the

statement: “for he who regards the gods will always receive a blameless gift of gratitude”.

66

The beginning of the text, that would conventionally be a prose explanation of the circumstances of the oracular answer, is not preserved, and the oracle itself is so general that the question cannot be deducted at all.

198

This transposition of the treatment of a particular problem of one community to general statements considering the whole of the human race is what constitutes an oracular message, providing it with a timeless quality and a sort of general value, making it applicable to many problems, and, finally, conveying the sort of general, gnomic wisdom one would expect of a god.

3.1.3. Demand for purity

199

Another general tendency of oracular sacred regulations is their reference to purity. The reason for this might be the character of Apollo, whose oracles are the context of most of these types of texts, and secondly, the fact that many of them busy themselves with the institution of a rite or its accommodation to new circumstances, both of which are necessarily involved with the need for ritual purity. For instance, the oracle of Delphic Apollo concerning the protection of the city of Tralleis (Caria) against earthquake proscribes the institution of the sacrificial rite to Poseidon by noting that the priest should sacrifice “with pure hand” e.g. conduct a pure sacrifice (n° 22); another prophecy of the same oracle for Magnesia on the Maiander concerning the interpretation of the falling of the tree (n° 10) advises the citizens to build a temple for Dionysos and choose a priest, who should be εὐάρτιος and ἄγνός, (v. 8); another Apollo oracle concerning the priesthood of Athena in the city Herakleia under Latmos (n° 7) prescribes that the priestess should be chosen annually, that she must belong to the elite not only by birth, but also by her conduct (1. 13: γένει ἥδὲ βίου τάξει).

200

Generally speaking, the oracular sacred regulations do address a particular occasion, but show a tendency to generalize, thus

broadening their significance from a single occasion to general human conditions; they often mention and stress the importance of purity; they have an immediacy of direct speech of a god, thus demanding attention and reverence, and formally they almost always differ from the rest of the inscription they are embedded in, insofar as they are metrical, whereas the rest of the text is prose. Seen as sacred regulations, their main purpose is to communicate a ritual, either giving instructions for instituting new cults and rituals as a means for protecting the community from perils and evils, or instructing in the manner of conduct in already existing ritual practices.

201

When it comes to communicating the ritual, the oracular sacred regulations clearly possess a high amount of authority. If we return to the situation of Euthyphro, whose efforts to provide the community with counsels concerning divine things are met with general ridicule, we come to the conclusion that his problem is the obvious lack of authority. This is a problem the oracular response clearly does not have to deal with, since it claims the highest possible authority – namely, that of a god. Who could better instruct humans in regard to cult than the god himself?

202

The divine authority of the oracular sacred regulations has the metrical form as its vehicle and a distinct set of contextual characteristics. These formal and contextual characteristics demarcate the oracular texts from other types of sacred regulations. Thus we could say that they do not only communicate a ritual, but with their form and set of contextual characteristics also *ritualize the communication* in the sacred space (being themselves the result of a ritualized communication). The aspect of ritualized communication is their very form: just as the majority of other prescriptive texts in prose open with ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ and inform their recipient not only about the details of ritual actions, but also of the type of authority who decided to inscribe the ritual regulations on stone, the oracular responses inform their recipients not only about the details of a particular ritual, but also about the type of authority who guarantees their informational content. The difference is that the oracular responses do not do this directly (the explanation of the

θεὸς ἔχρησεν type is not part of the oracular response itself), but through the means of their metrical form and their particular topoi. Their form is their additional message. Therefore we can speak of them as ritualized communication inasmuch as they operate on at least two levels: they provide the information first on the level of meaning (i.e. what is to be done) and secondly on the level of form (i.e. words of a god). The contextual characteristics of these texts, such as the gnomic statements and demands for purity, are additional markers of a divine utterance: together with the form, these features mark the text as a divine utterance and make it recognizable as such. One could assume that the form is in this case also a label, just as a pair of a discreet crossed letters C (O) on a bag conveys a whole cluster of meanings to the fashion-conscious: not only that the leather garment in question comes from the internationally renowned house of Chanel, but also that its cost is astronomical and that its owner is probably very well-off and has classic good taste.

203

We could try to stretch this simile further: where there are labels with a significant amount of authority, there are soon copycats. In a way, imitation is the highest form of praise, and some of the magic dust of the coveted double C could rub off on the not so well-off owner of a Taiwanese copy (that being the theory).

204

Does this work for divine utterances as well? In other words, were there efforts to sprinkle the magic dust of θεὸς ἔχρησεν on other types of sacred regulations? In what follows, we will try to prove that the capital of the divine authority of the oracular responses was perceived as something worth striving for and that there is a whole class of texts that emulates the form and topoi of the oracular sacred regulations in order to create the impression of a divine authority.

3.2. Non-oracular metrical sacred regulations

205

That the communication between humans and oracular deities is ritualized need not be especially stressed or explained here. One can hardly think of a single instance of communication of this type that would not be essentially and inseparably attached to either a private

or a public ritual.

67

The inscriptional evidence that bears witness for this type of communication is vast and scattered all over the Greek world; it occurs chronologically from the 6th century BC until the 3rd century AD.

206

The divine answers to human questions, the urging to institute or modify a ritual from the “highest place” has an immediacy and very probably the impact that ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ simply lacks. Even if the sacred regulation is not an oracular one, how better to persuade the worshippers of its high authority and authenticity, then to pretend that it is?

68

If we now turn to non-oracular sacred regulations, we can, in our opinion, observe how strong was the impact of the oracular sacred regulations on other texts of ritual character. In other words, we will now argue that some prominent *topoi* of the oracular sacred regulations were integrated in metrical sacred regulations of other types, in order to increase their authority and their persuasiveness. This could be done on several levels.

69

One could, for instance, insert a gnomic statement in the sacred law and thus embellish it with a sort of timeless quality reserved for oracular responses. A very effective way to claim the authority of the oracular sacred regulation without actually being one is to add a clause regarding such categories as purity, or, even better, purity of mind – only a god could be the judge of a pure mind.

207

A very nice example of the attempt of the inscriptional *Gattungskreuzung* is a foundation inscription containing *sacred regulation* from Lindos, dated roughly to the imperial period (our text n° 16)

70

:

τῷ ψιθύρῳ νηὸν πολυκείονα τεύξε Σέλευκος
κοσμήσας αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἐχρημάτισεν.
χρησεν καὶ θύειν οἷς καὶ τὸ συνειδὸς ἄριστον
καὶ τεῖμαῖν δραχμῇ ἤττονι δ' οὐκ ἐθέλειν
καὶ τοῦτω χρῆσθαι προσέτους εἰς νηὸν Ἀθήνης,

δῶσειν γὰρ πράξεισι τοῖσι θύουσι καλὰς.

Seleukos built a temple of many columns for the Whisperer
And adorned it just the way he was instructed in a dream.

71

And he has proclaimed that the sacrifices should be conducted by
those of the best (sc. clear) conscience;
May the honour for the god be shown by the gift of a drachma (a gift
of lesser value will not be appreciated),
The visitors of Athena's temple should visit this one, too,
Because the goddess will give fair favours to those who sacrificed.

208

The text consists of three elegiac couplets, the speaker is not identified, but the connection with the divine is alluded to in the second verse, which mentions divination. One wonders if it was a god who invested the authority in Seleukos, which would make his sacred regulation a sort of a divine oracle. The second interesting characteristic of this sacred regulation is a demand for a clear conscience on the part of those who enter the temple. This clearly points in the direction of oracular sacred regulations and divine utterances. The speaker of the text is not a god, but Seleukos; the executor of the god's will presents himself as a mere instrument not only by pointing out the fact that he did as he was told in a dream, but also by not speaking directly – he is merely referred to in the third person singular. This lack of clarity paired with a mention of a prophetic dream and a demand for a clear conscience leads the reader to the conclusion that the real agent of the inscription is a god himself. In this way, on the one hand, the ritual in the temple of The Whisperer is being prescribed, but on the other hand, by using the topoi of the ritualized communication in oracular sacred regulations, one is led to the conclusion that this inscription is an oracular sacred regulation too, which embellishes it with a greater authority.

209

Unfortunately, the author of the epigram took it too far, and the resulting effect seems rather odd than authoritative. He couldn't satisfy himself with alluding to a greater power standing behind his venture, but had to include another divine power in the game too. A temple for The Whisperer is actually a joint venture with Athena's temple, and she is the additional authority summoned to cement the significance of the temple. All of this, in addition to statements about

lesser gifts that would not be appreciated, might make the wrong kind of impression. The grandeur turns to pettiness, sublime to preposterous.

210

A much more impressive example of a *Gattungskreuzung*, done very well indeed, is another inscription from Lindos (above n° 24), a 3rd century AD sacred regulation consisting of a prose text (21 lines), meticulously listing the rules for ritual purity and ending with two highly effective elegiac couplets

72

:

τάν ποτ' Ὀλύμπον ἔβας ἀρετάφορον εἴσιθι. τοιγὰρ
εἰ καθαρὸς βαίνεις, ὦ ξένε, θαρραλέως.
εἰ δέ τι πᾶμα φέρις, τὸν ἀπάμονα κάλλιπε ναόν,
στεῖλχε δ' ὅπα χρήζεις Παλλάδος ἐκ τεμένους.

Having trodden the virtuous path toward Olympus, enter. That is to say,

If you are coming pure, stranger, enter without fear.

But if you are carrying blame with you, leave the blameless temple,

Go wherever you want, but stay away from Athena's precinct.

211

The speaker in this inscription is not identified, but it is evident that the epigram styles itself as a divine utterance. It addresses its reader directly, and interestingly enough, as a stranger. The path is referred to as the one leading to Olympus. The effect is one of a powerful divine being, abiding high on the slopes of Olympus, directing its gaze at the newcomer. Is he worthy of the entrance? The inspecting view of the divinity rests upon the reader of the inscription as he hastily goes over his past in his mind, wondering what he should do.

212

The impact would not be as great if the inscription were not cleverly alluding to oracular sacred regulations and at the same time avoiding false pretences. The reference to the purity of the soul, the direct addressing of the newcomer, the word “stranger”, which puts one in the setting of the oracles, where practically everyone is a stranger, waiting to hear the will of the gods -it all summons the *topoi* of the oracular sacred regulations and sets the stage for the divine address. Since the identity of the speaker is not implied by anything, one may as well conclude that it could not be anyone but Athena herself.

213

The fact that this sacred regulation consists of a long prose text and a short epigram is yet another shrewd strategy (attested in further instances

73

) for setting the scene for the god. The tedious, but informative first part is left unadorned, the whole weight of the text amasses itself at the very end, and the form is very well adjusted to the meaning: whereas the prose part of the sacred regulation lists earthly pollution, such as sex, birth, menstruation, miscarriage, breastfeeding etc., the verse part employs just one word, $\pi\eta\mu\alpha$, thus at the same time generalizing the context from particular situations to the whole of human existence, and elevates it to the lofty slopes of Olympus (one should bare in mind that $\pi\eta\mu\alpha$ is a Homeric word).

214

An almost identical persuasive strategy can be observed in another Rho-dian inscription coming from the 1st century AD. The inscription, whose exact provenance cannot be determined, displays a very similar structure to the example above. Unfortunately, a significant part of the stone is missing, so that the identity of the deity concerned cannot be decided on (*cf.* above n° 8)

74

:

[ἀπὸ ἀφρ]οδισίω[ν]
 ἀ[πὸ] κυάμων,
 ἀπὸ καρδίας.
 ἀγνὸν χρῆ ναιοῖο θ[υ]-
 ὠδεος ἐντὸς ἰόντ[α]
 ἔνμεναι οὐ λουτρὸι
 ἀλλὰ νόψ καθαρόν.
 καθ' ἀδίτους θύοντα,
 ἐνώλλειν εἰς τὸν θη-
 σαυρὸν βοὸς <α', τῷ[ν]
 ἄλλων τετραπόδων [.],
 ἀλέκτορος ε'.

75

215

It can be easily recognized that the textual structure corresponds to that of the Lindian sacred regulation discussed above: after what seems to have been an extensive list of the sources of impurity, a gnomic summary in the form of an elegiac couplet defines the type of purity requested by the god.

Although all three examples discussed above come from Rhodes, one can by no means speak of an exclusive phenomenon of this island. According to Porphyrios, the temple of Asclepios in Epidauros also displayed a metrical sacred regulation, whose hexameter is identical with that of the Rhodian inscription and whose pseudo-pentameter provided the reader with a hermeneutic commentary: ἀγνὸν χρῆ ναοῖο θυώδεος ἐντὸς ἰόντα ἔνμεναι. ἀγνεῖα δ' ἔστι φρονεῖν ὄσια.

76

Further, the new metrical inscription from the city of Euromos in Caria (our n° 15) makes it evident that we do not have to do with a local epi-graphic habit. The door of the temple of Zeus Lepsynos

77

, built during the reign of Hadrian

78

, confronted the visitors with the following instructions:

εἰ καθάραν, ὧ ξεῖνε, φέρεις φρένα καὶ τὸ δίκαι[ι]ον

ἥσηκηες ψυχῇ, βα[ι]νε κατ' εὐίερον

εἰ δ' ἀδίκων ψαύεις καὶ σοι νόος οὐ καθαρεύει,

πόρρω ἀπ' ἀθανάτων [ἐ]ργεο καὶ τεμένους·

οὐ στέργει φαύλους [ι]ερὸς δόμος, ἀλλὰ κολάζει,

τοῖς δ' ὅσιος [ό]σίους ἀντινέμει [χάριτας].

If you bring a pure mind, stranger, and if in your soul justice

Is practiced, come to this place of sanctity.

But if you touch the unjust and if your sense is not pure,

Stay away from the gods' rite and land.

The holy house does not approve of villains, it castigates them,

But the pious ones will receive pious gifts in return.

Just like the texts 15, 16 and 24, this poem too consists of elegiac couplets. The identity of the speaker is not revealed, but it is obvious that he is of higher authority since it is the speaker who distinguishes between the pure and impure visitors, promising rewards for the pious and punishment for the transgressors. In addition, the purity dealt with is again the purity of mind, whereas the addressee is again “a stranger”, a topos we mentioned in connection with visitors in an oracle.

79

Interestingly enough, the purity of the mind is not the only explicitly

mentioned and mandatory condition the visitor had to fulfil in order to enter the sanctuary, the “εὐίερον”

80

, unharmed. Entry is allowed only for those who also “practice justice in their souls” (v. 1-2).

81

This makes it clear that the speaker, the one who is to assess the visitors, is of a superior power. Who but a deity is capable of recognizing whether the visitor has a pure mind, or is practiced in justice? Further, the speaker claims for himself the authority of the [ι]ερὸς δόμος – he knows what will happen, if the visitor does not come to terms with the prerogatives for entrance. Not only it is forbidden for them to enter the temenos of the immortals, as in the Lindian sacred regulation (cf. above text 24.4: στεῖλχε δ’ ὅπα χρῆζις Παλλάδος ἐν τεμένους), but they are also banned from conducting the [ἔ]ργον of the immortals.

82

We find here not only a refusal of access to the temenos for those of impure soul, but also a prohibition against taking part in the ritual.

220

In sum, there are several formal and contextual elements the metrical sacred regulations have in common. As far as their physical setting is concerned, all of the texts belong to the sacred space; all of them stood either on the horoi of a temenos, or in the temenos, or on the temples themselves. Also in regard to the textual form these poems share common features: all of them are composed in elegiac couplets.

83

Concerning the similarities in content, it is obvious that all of them deal with purity – not with physical purity of any kind, but primarily with the purity of mind, a prominent motif of oracular sacred regulations (cf. 8.2: νόῳ καθαρὸν; 15.1: καθαρὰν, ᾧ ξεῖνε, φέρεις φρένα; 24.3: εἰ δέ τι πᾶμα φέρεις).

221

Secondly, we had observed above that the non-oracular metrical sacred regulations make use of further features of the oracular sacred regulations, such as the motif of the “gnomic statements”. Interesting, too, is that they allude to another characteristic of seeking and being provided with the oracular text that is not immanent in the very oracular response, but can rather be implied

from the circumstances of consulting the oracle. Since the great Greek oracles were places where many people from different parts of the Greek world met, and everyone was a stranger away from home, the non-oracular metrical sacred regulations take up this situation and address their recipient as “stranger”. This alludes to the situation at the oracle site and places the text in the oracular discourse.

222

But do these similarities enable us to conclude that in antiquity these texts were actually read and understood as utterances of the gods, as texts embellished with the same type of authority as, say, the Delphic oracles?

223

We believe we can argue this.

4. Construction of authority

4.1. Form and placement

224

Whereas it is obvious that the oracular responses claim a god’s authority, it may be questioned in what way could an ancient reader recognize the authority of a god in a non-oracular sacred regulation. In our opinion, there are some elements determining the authority of a non-oracular sacred regulation.

225

Their *form* should be emphasised first: as we could see in the non-oracular responses above, the authority was mediated through the textual form. The elegiac disticha started being incorporated in the prose texts of the sacred regulations as a marker of change in the authority of the message. This change of authority was, however, not as explicit as in the instances we could observe in the oracular responses, where one can find a textual cleft indicated either through one of the usual formulae (such as θεὸς ἔχρησεν) or through the lay-out of the text itself.

226

In the non-oracular sacred regulations, when a metric sacred regulation is combined with a prose text, one cannot find the formulaic θεὸς ἔχρησεν or similar expressions, which would make it

clear for any recipient that it is now the god who is addressing him.

227

What is obvious, however, is that non-oracular metrical sacred regulations adopted the metrical form, the *topoi* and the language of the oracular responses. In presenting the features of an oracle response, the text claims the same type of authority, namely, that of a god. At the same time they cunningly circumvent any identification of the person, i.e. authority, speaking, thus leaving it to the recipient himself to detect the speaker of the metrical text. One can also come to the conclusion that the speaker is of a numinous or superhuman nature on the basis of the content of address. Who else but a god can speak in an encouraging or discouraging voice, promising reward for the pious and the punishment for the impious? Who else but a god could have actually known about the purity of the visitor's mind?

228

Additional element in the construction of the authority of these texts is their very *placement*. All of the texts concerned were integrated into the sacred space, either appearing on the gates of the *temenos*,

84

or adorning the walls or doors of the sanctuary itself.

85

Thus the speaker is the "house of a god"

86

, which comes very close to a god himself.

229

The connection between the spatial authority and the authority of the text is apparent. It is well known that the Greeks paid a great deal of attention to the context where an inscription containing a sacred regulation would be placed. This is easily recognized, due to the texts themselves, which often state the exact location where the stele was set up, as well as the type of material the text was inscribed upon. Even though a reader of today might find it somewhat peculiar that the facts perceptible for any recipient, such as the location of and the material for the inscription-carrier, were transported from the draft to the stone, in more than one instance one finds even greater details which clearly illustrate that the exact setting and the form of a sacred regulation was a matter of no minor concern. The type of letters

87

may be determined, as are the number of the copies (as well as the

place where the copies were to be kept), and the costs for the inscription as well as the fee for the mason who was to be engaged for the task may be fixed. Such accuracy, combined with the fact that the information about the circumstances of the publication were carved upon the stone, is probably not to be seen as a result of an automatic and unreflected dealing with ritual regulations. On the contrary – this information seems to disclose a persuasive strategy employed by a polis in order to show that the decisions made by, say, boule and demos are conducted just in the way they were planned. It is now possible for any reader of the decree to see for himself that the polis was making a serious effort to honour its gods. Therefore, one can assume that, for a metrical sacred regulation, the same type of attention was provided and that the place at which they were set up mattered.

4.2. Programming the speaker

230

How was the communication ritualized in non-oracular sacred regulations? Obviously, the generic characteristics of these texts led a reader to grasp the similarities of these texts with the closest genre, namely that of oracular responses.

231

In our opinion, the single formal and contextual features of the group of texts we called non-oracular sacred regulations made this association obvious. The literary sources confirm the impression that these texts were already in antiquity perceived as utterances of gods. Book XIV of the *Anthologia Palatina*, the notorious mixture of enigmatic and arithmetic epigrams, contains a section of some 40 oracular responses, most of them attributed to the Delphic god.

88

The series was included probably very early into the predecessors of the *A.P.*, and it seems that the collection was widely read.

89

Among the extant oracles (many of which come from literary sources, especially from Herodotus), one can distinguish the oracles for famous persons and cities

90

from the oracles containing more general utterances. Interestingly

enough, whereas all of the oracles for the single poleis or persons are written in hexameters, the more general ones are written in elegiac disticha. Further, they have purity, and once again, not any kind of purity, but the purity of mind for their subject. Under the heading *χρησμός της Πυθίας*, the following two texts are introduced:

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A.P. XIV, 71:

ἀγνὸν πρὸς τέμενος καθαροῦ, ξένε, δαίμονος ἔρχου
ψυχὴν, νυμφαίου νάματος ἀψάμενος'
ὡς ἀγαθοῖς ἀρκεῖ βαυὴ λιβάς' ἄνδρα δὲ φαῦλον
οὐδ' ἂν ὁ πᾶς νίψαι νάμασιν Ὠκεανός.

Stainless in respect to your soul, stranger, come to the temenos of the
Pure deity, after you have washed yourself with water sacred to the
Nymphs.

For the virtuous, just a drop will suffice, but he who is wicked
Will not be washed clean by the water of the whole Ocean.

233

A.P. XIV, 74:

ἱρὰ θεῶν ἀγαθοῖς ἀναπέταται, οὐδὲ καθαρμοῶν
χρειώ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἠψατο οὐδὲν ἄγος.
ὅστις δ' οὐλοῶς ἦτορ, ἀπόστιχε' οὐποτε γὰρ σὴν
ψυχὴν ἐκνίψει σῶμα δαινόμενον.

The sanctuary of the gods is open for the virtuous, I do not even
require

Cleansing – because to virtue clings no pollution.

But whoever is wicked in heart – away with you! Because

Bathing of your body will never purge the filth of your soul.

234

The texts presented by the compiler of the Anthology's source certainly do share some of the generic markers of oracular poetry and were therefore classified as belonging to this genre.

91

The two epigrams from the Anthology are, however, not the only indications that this type of text was viewed in antiquity as belonging to the genre of oracular answers. Just as it is the case above, the well-known "*Sarapis Oracle for Timainetos*"

92

is in fact not an oracle for anyone, but belongs, strictly speaking, to the same genre of texts as the Lindian epigram (n° 24), the epigram from Rhodes (n° 8), and the text from Euromos (n° 15). Its formal characteristics are the same (two to three elegiac couplets), it also considers purity of the mind, and it is thus plausible to assume that it

was set in the same material context as the examples quoted above, namely either marking an entrance to the temenos, or to the temple itself:

ἀγνάς χεῖρας ἔχων καὶ νοῦν καὶ γλῶτταν ἀληθῆ
εἶς<ι>θι, μὴ λοετροῖς, ἀλλὰ νόῳ καθαρὸς
ἀρνεῖ γὰρ θ' ὁσίοις ῥάνις ὕδατος ἄνδρα δὲ φαῦλον
οὐδ' ἂν ὃ πᾶς λοῦσαι χεύμασιν ὤκειανός.

You, who posses untainted hands and mind, and whose tongue is true,
Enter pure – not by bath, but in your mind;
Because for the chaste one, a drop of water will suffice. But he who is
wicked,
Could not be washed by the whole ocean with its water.

235

The question of how these texts should be classified is not an easy one. In his discussion of the Euromos epigram, Emmanuel Voutiras has suggested, plausibly, in our opinion, that this text should be viewed as belonging to the genre which Lucian named *programma*.

93

After having discussed the lustral rites and the procedure of slaying of the sacrificial animals, Lucian goes on to criticize the appearance of the priests who are stained with the blood, “like the Cyclops of old”, even though τὸ μὲν πρόγραμμα φησι μὴ παριέναι εἰς τὸ εἶσω τῶν περιρραντερίων ὅστις μὴ καθαρὸς ἐστὶν τὰς χεῖρας.

94

Lucian has apparently limited the term *programma* to the physical sphere on account of the context of his narrative; it is a well-known fact, however, that the requests for purity, especially in the East of the Imperial period, commence requiring purity of the mind very early.

95

In accordance with the Euromos inscription we can view the remaining metrical inscriptions as *programmata*, as divine prescriptions on how to enter a sacred space.

5. Conclusion

236

The group of sacred regulations we referred to as oracular metrical sacred regulations were diffused throughout the Greek world, and yet they demonstrate some characteristic general *topoi*: the communities

usually inscribed them on stone in the metrical form, and provided them with a prose text containing either the summarized circumstances of the oracle or the text of the question posed to the god. Often the oracular answer is very clearly marked as the voice of a god: its tone is compelling, it addresses the community, i.e. the reader, directly, and is more commanding than advising. Apart from offering solutions to day-to-day problems, the oracular metrical sacred regulations often offer general advice in gnomic form and they tend to refer to ritual purity, particularly to the purity of mind. Their form and content thus exhibit a high degree of uniformity. These texts are connected to the ritual in three ways:

1. They are the result of the ritual of consulting the oracle.
2. They prescribe the ritual practice by specifying how and by whom the ritual should be performed.
3. They are also in themselves a ritualized form of communication, because the way they address the recipients became a ritual in itself: They provide the recipient with information by employing a specific form.

237

We have argued that the oracular sacred regulations possessed an authority some of the texts from other sanctuaries wanted to be able to claim for themselves, too. One way to achieve this type of authority was to compose texts that claim the divine authority, without having to go as far as to falsely declare it: On the one hand, these poems took the typical characteristics of the oracular sacred regulations. On the other hand, the lack of divine authority was compensated for by the placement of the poems: they were situated in a place that would imply that they carried the word of a god, the temple doors for instance.

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Thus the divine authority was constructed, but in this process a new form of ritualized communication came into being. Communication in the pseudo-oracular sacred regulations is even more ritualized than in the oracular sacred regulations. For the latter texts *do* aim to convey a certain message, even though they display a high degree of formality, whereas the former texts barely aim to communicate anything at all,

apart from the fact that their mysterious speaker could be divine. The oracular metrical sacred regulations not only refer to the fact that their origin is the god himself, they also communicate rituals; they demand ritual *practice*. The non-oracular metrical sacred regulations are different insofar as the ritual they communicate is on the verge of being obsolete: the pureness of the soul is either there or not. Their purpose is not really to communicate a ritual, but, paradoxically, to ritualize the communication to the point where there is really little left to actually communicate. Not only their form becomes a message, but, at the greatest extreme, their form becomes *the* message. And the message is: “Look who’s talking now – for all you know, it could be a god.”

Notes

1 We would like to express our gratitude to Mr. Rodney Trotter for scrutinizing our English, to the editor of this volume, as well as to A. Chaniotis and J.E. Lendon for many useful suggestions and corrections they provided us with. The titles of epigraphic corpora and text-collections have been abbreviated according to the usual practice.

The scholarship concerning the definition of ritual and its relationship to religion is vast. We can point only to a very few of the more influential treatises on the subject: J. Goody, “Religion and Ritual: The Definitional Problem”, *British Journal of Sociology* 12 (1961), p. 142-164; J.Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual*, Chicago, 1987; C. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, Oxford, 1995² [1992]; for an overview of ritual theories see C. Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, Oxford, 1997, p. 3-22. On the significance of ritual for communication and *vice versa* cf. M. Bloch, *Ritual, History and Power: Selected Papers in Anthropology*, London, 1989, p. 122; F. Staal, “The Meaninglessness of Ritual”, *Numen* 26 (1975), p. 2-22; E.W. Rothenbuhler, *Ritual Communication. From Everyday Conversation to Mediated Ceremony*, Thousand Oaks, 1998, *passim* and esp. p. 26.

2 See e.g. B.C. Dietrich, *Tradition in Greek Religion*, Berlin, New York, 1986, p. 87-89; cf. R. Garland, *Introducing New Gods. The Politics of Athenian Religion*, London, 1992, p. 1-3 describing the Athenian pantheon as a “permanent flux”; J.N. Bremmer, *Greek Religion*, Oxford, 1994 p. 1: “Was there ever such a thing as Greek religion?”; F. de Polignac, “Divinités régionales et divinités communautaires dans les cités

archaïques”, in V. Pirenne-Delforge (ed.), *Les panthéons des cités: des origines à la «Périégèse» de Pausanias: actes du colloque organisé à l'Université de Liège du 15 au 17 mai 1997*, Liège, 1998 p. 22 sq. On the interplay between the local elements and panhellenic myths see S. Price *Religions of the Ancient Greeks*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 3-10. Cf also C. Sourmnou-Inwood, “What is Polis Religion?”, in R. Buxton (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion*, Oxford, 2000, p. 13-37, esp. p. 17-19, on the religion of a polis versus the pan-Hellenic religion.

3 For sacred regulations in general cf. M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Graeca* IV, Roma et al., 1978, p. 3-45, R. Parker “What are sacred laws?”, in E. M. Harris, L. Rubinstein (eds), *The Law and the Courts in Ancient Greece*, London, 2004, p. 57-70; E. Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law. A Collection of New Documents (NGSL)*, Leiden, 2005, p. 3-110. On the richness of rituals contrasted with the scantiness of the actual ritual-performative texts cf. A. Henrichs, “Dromena und Legomena. Zum rituellen Selbstverständnis der Griechen”, in F. Graf (ed.), *Ansichten griechischer Rituale*, Stuttgart /Leipzig, 1998, p. 33-71.

4 For the typological range of inscriptional texts dealing with Greek religion cf. A. Henrichs, “Writing Religion. Inscribed Texts, Ritual Authority, and the Religious Discourse of the Polis”, in H. Yunis (ed.), *Written Texts and the Rise of Literate Culture in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge, 2003, p. 38-58, esp. p. 42-45; A. Barchiesi, J. Rüpke, S. Stephens (eds), *Rituals in Ink. A Conference on Religion and Literary Production in Ancient Rome*, Stuttgart, 2004.

5 The problems of definition of the term “ritual” as well as those of the term “communication” are notorious. In the context of Greek religion and as far as the term “ritual” is concerned cf. J.N. Bremmer *Greek Religion*, Oxford, 1994, p. 38-9; J.N. Bremmer, “‘Religion,’ ‘Ritual’, and the Opposition ‘Sacred vs. Profane’”, in Graf, o.c. (n. 3), p. 9-32, esp. p. 14 sq. We use the term in its restrained meaning and limit it to the sacred domain. Under the term “communication” we understand the process of conveying information. Rothbuhler’s book (o.c. [n. 11]) concentrates less on the religious aspects of ritual, but stresses the inseparability of ritual from communication, cf. p. 26.

6 For priests as interpreters of ritual cf. *locus classicus* Plato, *Politicus*, 290c-d; see also R.S.J. Garland, “Religious Authority in Archaic and Classical Athens”, *ABSA* 79 (1984), p. 75-123, esp. p. 76.

7 On *theopropoi* see M. Worrle, “Innschriften von Herakleia am Latmos II. Das Priestertum der Athena Latmia”, *Chiron* 20 (1990), p. 19-58, esp. p. 32 sq.

8 On *exegetai* and the lost *Exegetika* cf. R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History*, Oxford 1996, p. 51 sq.

9 For *exegetai*, *manteis*, oracles and *demos* see Garland, l.c. (n. 6), p. 74 sq.; id., “Priests and Power in Classical Athens”, in M. Beard, J. North (eds), *Pagan Priests. Religion and Power in the Ancient World*, London, 1990, p. 73-91; Price, o.c. (n. 2), p. 70-73.

10 On ritual and authority in general cf. B. McVeigh, “The Authorization of Ritual and the Ritualization of Authority: The Practice of Values in a Japanese New Religion”, *JRitSt* 6.2 (1992), p. 39-58; on Greek texts and ritual authority cf. A.

Henrichs, "Hieroi Logoi and Hierai Bibloi: The (Un)Written Margins of the Sacred in Ancient Greece", *HSCPh* 101 (2002), p. 207-266.; *id.*, *l.e.* (n. 4), p. 52 sq. For a different view on the impact of written texts on "ordinary Greeks" cf. W.V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, Cambridge Mass., 1989, p. 83.

11 Plato, *Plt.*, 290a. Translation (slightly modified) after H.N. Fowler, *Plato. With an English Translation*, London, New York 1925, p. 121.

12 Plato, *Euthyphro*, 3c. Cf. also Price, *o.c.* (n. 2), p. 72-73, with n. 18 for Lampon, the famous religious expert of the 5th century BC as the object of puns in comedy (Cratinus in Athenaeus). Cf. Aristophanes, *Aves*, 980 sq. and R. Baumgarten, *Heiliges Wort und Heilige Schrift bei den Griechen*, Tübingen, 1998, p. 42-48; Henrichs, *l.c.* (n. 4), p. 53-54.

13Cf. Henrichs, *l.c.* (n. 4), p. 52 sq.

14 Much wider in scope and primarily concerned with different material is the collection of W. Furley, J. Bremmer, *Greek Hymns*, Vol. I-II, Tübingen, 2001.

15 On ritual and authority see: McVeigh, *l.c.* (n. 10), p. 39 sq.; Henrichs, *l.c.* (n. 4), *passim*.

16Cf. under n^{os} 2, 3, 9, 19, 23.

17LSS 108; see under n° 8.

18Cf. under n° 2.

19 A. Petrović is preparing an edition with a commentary of the Greek metrical sacred regulations.

20Ed. pr. G.E. Bean, "Notes and Inscriptions from Caunus", *JHS* 74 (1954), p. 85-110. Cf. *SEG* 14, 655; H. Lloyd-Jones, "A New Oracle in an Inscription", *JHS* 75 (1955), p. 155; *SEG* 15, 155; W. Peek, "Ein Orakel des Gryneischen Apollon", *Philologos* 100 (1956), p. 139-140; *SEG* 17, 493; H. Hommel, "Das Versorakel des Gryneischen Apollon", *Philologos* 102 (1958), p. 84-92; R. Merkelbach, "Ein Orakel des Gryneischen Apollon", *ZPE* 5 (1970), p. 48; *SEG* 40, 1109; G. Ragone, "Il tempio di Apollo Gryneios in Eolide. Testimonianze antiquarie, fonti antiche, elementi per la ricerca topografica", in B. Virgilio (ed.), *Studi Ellenistici III*, Pisa, 1990, p. 103-112.

21Ed. pr. F.W.R. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Nordionische Steine*, Berlin, 1909, p. 37-48, n° 1; *SGDI* IV, p. 883, n° 62; *ISAM* 24; *I.Erythrai* 2, n° 205.

22*l.* Didyma, 132; J. Fontenrose, *Didyma. Apollo's Oracle, Cult, and Companions*, Berkeley, 1988, n° 14.

23 L. Robert, "Un oracle à Syédra, les monnaies et le culte d'Arès", in *id.*, *Documents de l'Asie mineure méridionale. Inscriptions, monnaies et géographie*, Genève, 1966, p. 91 sq.; E. Maròti, "A Recently Found Versified Oracle against the Pirates", *AantHung* 16 (1968), p. 233 sq.; F. Sokolowski, "Sur l'oracle de Claros destiné à la ville de Syédra" *BCH* 92 (1968), p. 519 sq.; E. Maròti, "Miscellanea Graeco-Latina", *Gymnasium* 98 (1991), p. 177 sq.; C.A. Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses*, New York, 1992, p. 74-76; R. Merkelbach, J. Stauber, "Die Orakel des Apollon von Klaros", *EA* 27 (1996), p. 1-54, n° 15; P. De Souza, "Romans and Pirates in a Late Hellenistic Oracle from Pamphylia", *CgN.S.* 47 (1997), p. 477 sq.

- 24** On the oracles of Clarian Apollo cf. Merkelbach – Stauber, *L.c.* (n. 23), p. 3 sq.
- 25** *CIG* 3797; *L.Kalchedon* 14; *FGE LXX*, 375-77, v. 1372-1379. Cf. *SEG* 43, 1313.
- 26** *LSAM* 6; *L.Kios* 19; Merkelbach – Stauber, *L.c.* (n. 23), n° 14.
- 27** *Ed. pr.* Wörrle, *L.c.* (n. 7), p. 19-58; *SEG* 40, 956; cf. also *SEG* 17, 1074.
- 28** J. & L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique”, *REG* 59-60 (1946/7), p. 338, n° 157.
- 29** *Ed. pr.* R. Merkelbach, E.Schwertheim, “Die Inschriften der Sammlung Necmi Tolunay in Bandirma, Teil II. Das Orakel des Amnion für Kyzikos”, *EA* 2 (1983), p. 147 sq.; *SEG* 33, 1056; *SEG* 34, 1326; *SEG* 48, 1480.
- 30** *I Magnesia* 215; *SEG* 39, 1846, H.W. Parke, D.E.W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* HI, Oxford, 1956, vol. II, n° 338; R.S. Kraemer, *Maendias, Martyrs, Matrons, Monastics. A Sourcebook on Women's Religions in Graeco-Roman World*, Philadelphia, 1988, n° 9. Cf. A. Henrichs, “Greek Maenadism from Olympias to Messalina”, *HSCPh* 82 (1978), p. 121 sq., esp. p. 123 sq.; *SEG* 40, 999; *SEG* 42, 1853.
- 31** R. Merkelbach, “Ein Orakel des Apollon für Artemis von Koloe”, *ZPE* 88 (1991), p. 70-72; F. Graf, “An Oracle against Pestilence from a Western Anatolian Town”, *ZPE* 92 (1992), p. 267 sq.; *SEG* 41, 981; *SEG* 43, 799; *SEG* 46, 1464; Merkelbach – Stauber, *L.c.* (n. 23), n° 11; *SEG* 48, 1357; J.R. Somolinos, “Artemis Efesia en Lidia y Apollo Clario en Éfeso”, in *Actas del IX congreso Español de estudios clásicos*, Madrid, 1997, p. 207 sq.
- 32** *IGR* IV, 1498; *SEG* 42, 1816; Faraone, o.c. (n. 23), p. 103; Merkelbach – Stauber *L.c.* (n. 23), n° 8, 9.
- 33** *CIG* II, 3538; *I.Pergamon* 324; *IGR* IV 360; *SEG* 31 1098; L. Robert, “Documents d'Asie Mineure”, *BCH* 105 (1980), p. 331-360., esp. p. 359-360; Merkelbach – Stauber, *L.c.* (n. 23), n° 2.
- 34** *Ed. pr.* P. Herrmann, “Athena Polias in Milet”, *Chiron* 1 (1971), p. 291-2; R. Merkelbach, “Ein Didymaeisches Orakel”, *ZPE* 8 (1971), p. 93-4; T. Drew-Bear, W.D. Lebek, “An Oracle of Apollo at Miletus”, *GRBS* 14 (1973), p. 65 sq.; Fontenrose, o.c. (n. 22), p. 199-200, n° 25.
- 35** M. Errington, “Inschriften von Euromos”, *EA* 21 (1993), p. 15 sq., n° 8; *SEG* 43, 710; E. Voutiras, “Zu einer metrischen Inschrift aus Euromos”, *EA* 24 (1995), p. 15 sq.; A. Chaniotis, “Reinheit des Körpers – Reinheit der Seele in den griechischen Kultgesetzen”, in J. Assmann, Th. SUNDERMEIER (eds), *Schuld, Gewissen und Person*, Gütersloh, 1997, p. 156-158; *SEG* 47, 2340; E. Voutiras “Nachtrag zu einer metrischen Inschrift aus Euromos”, *EA* 30 (1998), p. 148; *SEG* 48, 1329.
- 36** For a discussion of the genre of this text, see under 4.2.
- 37** After Voutiras, *L.c.* (n. 35 [1998]).
- 38** H. Usener, “Psithyros”, *RhM* 59 (1904), p. 623; L.M. Vazquez, *Inscripciones Rodias*, Vols. I-III, Diss. Madrid, 1988, vol. II, p. 308, n° 636.
- 39** Cf. our n° 24.
- 40** *I.Didyma* 499; Fontenrose, o.c. (n. 22), p. 203, n° 28.
- 41** Merkelbach–Stauber, *L.c.* (n. 23), p. 33-34, n° 19.
- 42** *I.Didyma* 496; Guarducci, o.c. (n. 3), p. 97; A. Herda, “Der Kult des Gründerheroen Neileos und die Artemis Kithone in Milet”, *JÖAI* 67 (1998), p. 1 sq.; *SEG* 48, 1412.

- 43** *LDidyma* 499; Fontenrose, o.c. (n. 22), p. 202, n° 27.
- 44** *LDidyma* 217; W. Peek, "Milesische Versinschriften", *ZPE* 7 (1971), p. 196 sq.; *SEG* 15, 670; fontenrose, o.c. (n. 22), p. 238, n° B 1.
- 45** See under 3.2.
- 46** Parke-Wormell, o.c. (n. 30), n° 471; J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle*, Berkeley, 1978, p. 190-191; *LTralleisl*, 1; J. Mylonopoulos, "Poseidon, der Erschütterer. Religiöse Interpretationen von Erd- und Seebeben", in J. Olshausen, H. Sonnabend (eds), *Naturkatastrophen in der antiken Welt*, Stuttgart, 1998, p. 82 sq., esp. p. 86-87; *SEG* 48, 2114.
- 47** Cf. Chaniotis, *l.c.* (n. 35).
- 48** *TAM* 2, 174; *SEG* 28, 1222; H.W. Parke, *Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor*, London, et al., 1985, p. 190-2; *SEG* 35, 1821; A. Chaniotis, *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften*, Stuttgart, 1988, p. 75 sq., T 19; *SEG* 38, 1970; *SEG* 39, 1413; CP. Jones, *Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World*, Cambridge Mass., 1999, p. 114-145; *SEG* 49, 2430; R. Merkelbach, "Der Glanz der Städte Lykiens. Die Festrede des Literaten Hieron (*TAM* II 174)", *EA* 32 (2000), p. 115 sq., esp. p. 120 sq.; *SEG* 50, 1356.
- 49** *LSS* 91.
- 50** For the discussion of the genre of this text see under 4.2.
- 51** *LDidyma* 504; Fontenrose, o.c. (n. 22), p. 204 sq., n° 30-31.
- 52** *SEG* 27, 933; Parke, o.c. (n. 48), p. 166 sq.; *SEG* 35, 1821; Merkelbach – Stauber, *l.c.* (n. 23), n° 25; *SEG* 46, 1464; E. Livrea, "Sull' iscrizione teosofica die Enoanda", *ZPE* 122 (1998), p. 90 sq.; S. Mitchell, "Wer waren die Gottesfürchtigen?", *Chiron* 28 (1998), p. 55 sq., esp. p. 62-63; *SEG* 48, 2470.
- 53** *CIG* 4380n; cf. *SGO* I 17/06/0.
- 54** Cf. Guarducci, o.c. (n. 3), p. 33 sq.
- 55** According to a note in *SEG* 31, 1687, the oracular *sacred regulations*, i.e. responses determining a sacred ritual, have been collected by T.L. Robinson in his dissertation: *Theological Oracles and Sanctuaries of Clarus and Didyma*, Diss. Harvard, 1981 (*non vidimus*).
- 56** Cf. nos 5; 17; 20.
- 57** Cf. n° 4.
- 58** On metrical form and performance see Baumgarten, o.c. (n. 12), p. 67.
- 59** Cf. n° 12.
- 60** Cf. e.g. nos 3; 7; 19; 20; 22.
- 61** These texts mainly concern themselves with solving a particular problem a community is facing at a particular time: the attacks of the pirates (n° 4), protection against earthquakes (n° 22), or against a pestilence (n°s 11-13). Another group of oracular *sacred regulations* consists of answers to questions regarding the formal characteristics of a particular ritual (n°s 17, 20, 25) or the election of a priest (n°s 7, 14). Sometimes they busy themselves with interpreting dreams (such as that of a priestess, n° 19) or signs, such as fallen trees (n° 10).
- 62** N° 19.

63 N° 18.

64 N° 6.

65 N° 17.

66 N° 21, 1. 11: [τῆς δὲ θεοφ]ροσύνης ἔσται χάρις αἰὲν ἀμεμφής.

67 For the formal decisions of the boule to make enquiry of an oracle, see Wörrle, *l.c.* (n. 7), p. 32 *sq.*

68 For general remarks on religious authority see Price, *o.c.* (n. 2), p. 67 *sq.* where he discerns two fundamental instances: religious officials (priests, *exegetai*, *manteis*) and oracles. Garland, *l.c.* (n. 9), p. 77 *sq.* examines the ritual authorities in classical Athens and distinguishes five different groups of authority-bearers: priests; *exegetai*; *chresmologoi* and *manteis*; *demos*; *oracles*.

69 For obvious reason we consider here only the metrical sacred regulations; for an analysis of the influences of the language of oracular responses on other genres of poetry *cf.* J.A. Fernández Delgado, “Poesía oral mantica en los oráculos de Delfos”, in M.J.L. Vitoria (ed.), *Symbolae Ludovico Mitxelena septuagenario oblatae*, I, Univ. del País Vasco, 1985, p. 153 *sq.*; *id.*, *Los oráculos y Hesíodo. Poesía oral mantica y gnómica griegas*, Cáceres, 1986; *id.*, “Orakel-Parodie, mündliche Dichtung und Literatur im homerischen Hermes-Hymnus”, in W. Kullmann, M. Reichel (eds), *Der Übergang von der Mündlichkeit zur Literatur bei den Griechen*, Tübingen, 1990, p. 153 *sq.*; *id.*, “Das Orakel in der frühgriechischen Poesie”, *WJA* 17 (1991), p. 17 *sq.*

70 *l.* Lindos II, n° 484.

71 For the deity ψῖθυρος “The Whisperer” and oneiromancy see Usener, *l.c.* (n. 38), p. 623-624.

72 *L.* 23-26.

73 See *infra*.

74 The usual interpretations suggest Asclepios and Sarapis. *Cf.* *LSS* 108, p. 177.

75 The elegiac couplet is italicized.

76 *Cf.* Porphyrius, *De abstinentia* II 19. *Cf.* Chaniotis, *l.c.* (n. 35), p. 152.

77 Door-inscription and not a *horos*: *cf.* Voutiras, *l.c.* (n. 35 [1995]), p. 18-19.

78 For the date *cf.* Voutiras *l.c.* (n. 35 [1998]).

79 *Cf.* p. 171.

80 The word is not found as a substantive in LSJ; for the adjective see LSJ s.v. εὐέρεος, -ον. For a discussion of the word see Voutiras, *l.c.* (n. 35 [1995]), p. 17.

81 *Cf.* Chaniotis, *l.c.* (n. 35), p. 158: “Die besondere Bedeutung des neuen Textes von Euromos liegt [...] darin, dass er nicht bloß gerechte Taten verlangt, sondern von einer gerechten Seele spricht [...]. Der Verfasser dieses Textes ist ausschliesslich an den inneren Menschen interessiert”.

82 The word is translated by Errington, *l.c.* (n. 35); Voutiras, *l.c.* (n. 35 [1995]), although providing an extensive commentary on the poem, does not comment the word.

83 On the form and setting see under 4.1.

84 *Cf.* above on texts 8 and 24.

85*Cf.* above 3.2.

86*Cf.* n° 15, l. 5: οὐ στέργει φαύλους [ἱ]ερὸς δόμος, ἀλλὰ κολάζει.

87*Cf.* e. g. *LSAM* 3, 15; 15, 34-39; 16, 29-33; esp. 33, 15 *sq.*; 62, 6 *sq.*

88*A.P.* XIV, 65-102; 112-115.

89*Cf.* Parke-Wormell, *o.c.* (n. 30), p. xvii.

90*Cf.* XIV, 65-66 (for Homer); 67 (for Laios); 68 (for Karistos); 69 (for Lykurgos); 79 (for Kroisos); 92-93 (for Athens); 99 (for the Greeks before the battle of Plataia), etc.

91 For the scholarship on these matters *cf.* the works of Fernández Delgado, above n. 69.

92 M. Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapis-Religion*, Hildesheim *et al.*, 1985, p. 147, n° 61.

93 Voutiras, *L.c.* (n. 35 [1995]), p. 15; Lupu, *o.c.* (n. 3), p. 18.

94*Cf.* *De sacribus*, 12-13.

95 Chaniotis, *L.c.* (n. 35).

96*Cf.* Staal, *L.c.* (1975), p. 2 *sq.*

*“Now let Earth be my witness and the broad heaven above,
and the down flowing water of the Styx...” (Homer, Mas XV,
36-37): Greek oath-rituals*

*

Irene Berti

1

The aim of this paper is to analyse the ritual of Greek oaths as well as the semantics of the oath-formula itself. Therefore, my emphasis lies on the religious, rather than the legal aspects of Greek oaths. My purpose is to examine the oath as an instrument of ritual communication, rather than trace a history of the oath and its development in ancient Greece, a subject on which there is already a vast literature.

1

2

The most commonly used Greek word to signify an oath is ὄρκος, which was already in antiquity related to ἔρκος, etymologically meaning “fence”, “enclosure” and “that which confines or constrains”.

2

Greek oaths had a very strong coercive force, which bound two or more people together, and one or more individuals to the gods. The obligation to keep an oath was felt to be absolute. According to Hesiod, even immortals had to fulfil a sworn oath; even a god who committed perjury could not escape the curse of an oath and was believed to fall asleep and be deprived of his divinity for a number of years

3

From the beginning of Greek history to the time of the Roman conquest, oaths remained widespread in both the social and political life of the Greeks. Oaths were made during legal processes

4

as a guarantee of treaties between poleis

5

, for the foundation of a new colony in international policy

6

, to ratify new laws and public contracts,

7

upon entering a new office

8

as well as a civic division like a *phratría*,

9

and even before taking part in the Olympic games.

10

This paper presents a series of examples of oath-rituals in their historical contexts, spanning from the early archaic Period to the Late Hellenistic Period, and identifies the recurrent elements and their many variants

11

The Greek oaths, especially the oldest ones, have been often interpreted as rituals implying sympathetic magic.

12

I will try to interpret them in terms of interpersonal communication. My purpose is to show that we cannot define one oath-ritual, but rather a variety of oath-rituals. Not only could some ritual elements disappear or be introduced anew, but also the sequences of the ritual could be changed and differently interpreted according to the cultural background of the oath-takers. Thus, the structure of the oath-rituals could always be invested with a new meaning, whose semantics can only be understood if we consider the cultural and historical context in which the oath was taken, as well as the peculiar situation and the intentions of the oath-takers. The semantic of the ritual deeply influenced its performance and determined many ritual

variants.

Oaths in Homer's works

6

Various interesting descriptions of oath ceremonies can be found in Homer's epics. The heroes of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* often turned to oaths to substantiate their statements,

13

to impose a vow of secrecy,

14

to establish the rules of war

15

and alliances,

16

to protect truces,

17

to avert danger

18

or resolve issues concerning reputation and honour between leaders of the same faction.

19

Even the gods loved to take oaths in order to increase the efficacy of their actions.

20

7

In Homer's works, oaths are always accompanied by a series of symbolic gestures. In some cases, detailed descriptions and the use of technical terms such as *συνθεσίου τε καὶ ὄρκια*,

21

which are also frequently found in later inscriptions, allow us to reconstruct the oldest Greek oaths with a fair degree of certainty.

22

8

In book III of the *Iliad*, the outcome of the war is uncertain and, notwithstanding the losses that both sides have suffered, neither of the warring factions manages to gain the upper hand. Thus, Hector proposes that the Achaeans and the Trojans agree to resolve the conflict, sparked by a private issue, by means of a duel between Paris and Menelaos.

And Hector spoke between the two armies: Hear from me, you Trojans and well-greaved Achaeans, the words of Alexander, for whose sake strife has arisen. The other Trojans and all the Achaeans he asks that they lay aside their fair armor on the bounteous earth, and that he himself between the armies together with Menelaus, dear to Ares, do battle in single combat for Helen and for all her possessions. And whoever wins, and proves himself the better man, let him duly take all the wealth and the woman, and take them home; but we others let us swear friendship and solemn oaths.

23

9

The *orkia (pista) temnein* formula belongs to the technical vocabulary of oath-taking and recurs frequently in the *Iliad* in numerous variants

24

and also in later inscriptions.

25

It is a concise expression that summarises the entire oath ideology. The adjective *pista* (loyal) stresses the obligation to fulfil given promises, while *orkia* and slitting refer to the victims of the oath-sacrifice. The victims embody the oath and can therefore be described by *pista*, an adjective that obviously applies to the stipulated treaties. However, as a treaty without an oath would not have any guarantee of validity, the term also refers to the oath itself. *Orkia temnein*, therefore, means to take an oath and is practically synonymous with the treaty itself, which is referred to by the adjective *pista*.

10

The metaphorical use of the “cutting oaths phraseology” allows the addition of φιλότητα (friendship and alliance) as an object of τάρωμεν by a form of *hendiadys*; the phrase can be translated as “swearing oaths of friendship”.

11

Homer describes the sacrifice scene in great detail:

Bring two lambs, a white ram and a black ewe for Earth and Sun, and for Zeus we will bring another; and bring here the mighty Priam, so that he may swear an oath himself – since his sons are reckless and faithless – lest someone by presumptuous act should do violence to the oaths of Zeus.

26

12

The heralds are in charge of providing the wine, the cups for the libation and the sacrificial victims.

Finally, the ceremony begins:

Immediately then rose up Agamemnon, lord of men, and Odysseus of many wiles, and the lordly heralds brought together the oath offerings for the gods, and mixed the wine in the bowl and poured water on the hands of the kings. And the son of Atreus drew out with his hand the knife that always hung beside the great sheath of his sword, and cut hair from the heads of the lambs; and then the heralds portioned it out to the chief men of the Trojans and Achaeans. Then Agamemnon lifted up his hands and prayed aloud for them: Father Zeus, who rule from Ida, most glorious, most great, and you Sun, who see all things and hear all things, and you rivers and you earth, and you who in the world below take vengeance on men who are done with life, whoever has sworn a false oath: be witnesses, and watch over the solemn oaths. [...]. He spoke, and cut the lambs' throats with the pitiless bronze; and laid them down on the ground gasping and failing of breath, for the bronze had robbed them of their strength. Then they drew wine from the bowl into the cups, poured it out, and made prayer to the gods who are for ever. And thus would one of the Achaeans and Trojans say: Zeus, most glorious, most great, and you other immortal gods, whichever army of the two will be first to work harm in defiance of the oaths, may their brains be poured out on the ground just as this wine is, theirs and their children's; and their wives be made to serve other men.

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13

This scene represents one of the most detailed and well-known descriptions of an oath-ritual. It is interesting to note that the actors responsible for the oath are not the two parties involved in the duel. Notwithstanding the fact that the agreement concerns a duel between Paris and Menelaus, the highest authorities of the two factions, Priam, the King of Troy, and Agamemnon, the head of the Achaean expedition against Troy stipulate the pact. The oath centred on a clash over a woman, but this could not be reduced to a private issue. There was much more at stake than the sole honour of these two men: the destiny of two peoples at war was at stake. This oath was meant to be an important agreement in foreign policy, a diplomatic solution that would end hostilities and set the conditions for peace

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. Agamemnon explicitly requested the presence of Priam not only because the Achaeans believed that the young Trojan princes were untrustworthy,

but because this was a solemn oath. It involved the entire community and the oath had to be pronounced by the highest authorities. Moreover, a witness accompanied both Priam and Agamemnon: Odysseus for the Greeks and Antenor for the Trojans.

Naturally, as this was to be an oral pact, the presence of human witnesses was as important as the presence of divine witnesses. Therefore, the oath was a public act performed in front of both armies.

The ritual sacrifice included the slaughter of three lambs and a libation of wine.

Prior to the sacrifice, the oath-takers purified themselves with water (v. 270). Washing one's hands before making a sacrifice was a regular part of the preliminaries to ritual slaughter of any kind.

The importance of the gesture of touching the victims and shaking hands in the oath-ritual, however, make the washing of the hands a very important symbolic element, so that it is not unreasonable to think that an oath sworn with impure hands would have had less validity than an oath sworn with pure hands.

The shearing of the victim's hair (the lambs' wool in this case) was a common element in Greek sacrifices, although normally the hair or wool was thrown into the fire as a preliminary offering.

The fact that, in this case, the wool was distributed and held by the participants (v. 273-274) created both a bond between the participants and the sacrificial animal and between the participants themselves. The choice of the sex of the animals corresponds to a widespread Greek tradition (although some exceptions exist) according to which male divinities received the sacrifice of a male animal, while female divinities received that of a female animal.

Even the colour of the black lamb destined to the Earth is not unusual.

An apparent aporia has been seen in the fact that although verses 103-104 explicitly state that the three lambs were destined for Zeus, Helios and Ge, it looks as if the animals were not really offered to the gods. The scene in which the animals are slaughtered seems to follow a ritual of its own, which differs from the usual sacrificial forms, whether *thysiai* or *sphagia*. Although Agamemnon's treatment of the lambs resembles an example of *sphagion*, the rite does not take place in a sanctuary, but in front of an armed community (a condition which could simply have been determined by the fact that two factions were at war) and features neither priests, nor altars or *eschara*. The sacrificial victims were neither eaten in a communal meal, nor burnt in a destructive sacrifice. We do not know what happened to the lambs after they were slaughtered. Priam took away the lambs provided by the Trojans, but we do not know why, and we have no information at all concerning the fate of the lamb provided by the Achaeans. Pausanias, quoting this passage, explains that it was forbidden to eat the victims of an oath-sacrifice.

38

As Kirk has pointed out, the detailed description of the dying animals is completely unparalleled in Homer and the use of the verb *aspairein* (v. 293, "to gasp") is restricted to the description of the dying warriors' last breaths.

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The same can be said for θυμοῦ δευομένου (v. 294), which is used elsewhere in Homer only once, to describe the death of Tros, son of Alastor.

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16

The poetic use of expressions normally employed to describe the death of humans for that of lambs creates a metaphorical parallel between the death of the sacrificial animals and the destiny of the perjurers. The anthropomorphisation of the slaughter is not only a clever poetic device to raise the tension of the scene, but also a ritual employing a form of "dramatization" of the curse (Faraone speaks of "sympathetic magic") in which the throat slitting is a metaphor that anticipates the fate of the perjurers who break the oath.

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The bond between animals and humans, however, is not exclusively symbolic. It is also physical and is represented by the lamb's wool

held in the hands of the humans.

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The use of the expression αἷμά τε ἄρνων in book IV to signify this oath, emphasises the importance of blood.

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In this brief, but intensely dramatic scene, Homer's poetry condenses the first of the two curses, which the oath-takers vow will befall them should they break the pledge. The bond between the sacrificial object and the fate of those swearing the oath is even more explicit in the second execratory rite, in which the ritual action is accompanied by words. At the moment of the libation, when the wine is poured onto the earth, the participants pronounce the curse, which binds the poured wine to the brains of any traitors (v. 300). Wives and children of such traitors will also suffer a terrible fate, being enslaved. The purity of the wine underlines the "anomaly" of the ritual.

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Even in this case, the wine is not explicitly offered to the gods, but is poured onto the ground in what is commonly defined as an "eliminary rite".

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It is interesting that the most emotionally intense phase of the ritual involves the entire communities rather than just the two authorities that formulated the conditions of the pact.

17

The two curses, invoked upon themselves by the oath-participants, embody a typical element of oath-rituals and have a twofold communicative function. For the spectators, who identified with the dying animal, the curse exuded an enormous binding power. At the same time, the violence of the ritual and its insistence on cruel details, showing – through substitution (slaughtered lambs and poured wine) – the fate of the perjurer, raised the emotional tension of the ritual, thus bringing about an intense participation which forged yet another bond. In this case, G. Ekroth correctly refers to "high intensity rites".

46

The references to the ritual gestures accompanying the oath are continuous and very complex; every gesture seems to have many meanings. An important sequence of the ritual is certainly the "dramatisation" of the curse.

The scene described in v. 267-301 serves as a perfect example of the structure of an oath. It contains all elements that are characteristic of Greek oaths even in the post-Homeric age. Its complex structure can be summarised as follows:

a) *Preparatory sequences:*

- v. 267-270: Agamemnon and Odysseus stand up, the wine is mixed and their hands are purified with water;
- v. 271-275: the shearing of the lambs, whose wool is held by those participating in the ceremony;

b) *Treatise and oath:*

- v. 276-280: invocation of the gods as witnesses to the oath;
- v. 281-291: treatise clauses;
- v. 292-294: first execratory ceremony (slitting the throats of the lambs is a type of *Drohritus*: the fate of the lambs will be that of perjurers);
- v. 295-301: second execratory ceremony (libation and curse: the pouring of the wine is a metaphor for the scattering of the perjurers' brains).

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Clearly, not all the oaths portrayed in the *Iliad* are described in such detail. As many ancient and modern commentators have emphasised, the particular importance of the oath portrayed in book III lies in the plot. The oath serves as a prophecy *ex eventu*: the Trojans did in fact break their oath and the destruction envisaged by the self-curse in v. 300-301 did actually occur, because men and children were killed and women were enslaved.

48

The death throes of the lambs in the initial part of the ceremony subtly foreshadow the death of many Trojan warriors on the battlefield. This scene must have instilled a reverential terror and it demonstrated with absolute certainty that breaking an oath would lead to divine vengeance.

Oath-rituals are also briefly mentioned in many other Homeric

passages. Notwithstanding their brief description, the importance of actions and words in ritual communication emerges with great clarity. The oath-ceremony between Achilles and Agamemnon destined to settle the issue of the ownership of Briseis and convince Achilles to return to battle, is apparently resolved by Homer in just a few verses:

And Agamemnon rose up, and Talthibius, whose voice was like a god's, stood by the side of the Shepard of men holding a boar in his hands. And the son of Atreus drew out with his hands the knife that ever hung beside the great sheath of his sword, and cut the firstling hairs of the boar, and lifting up his hands made prayer to Zeus; and all the Argives sat where they were in silence as was right, listening to the king. And he spoke in prayer, looking up to the broad heaven: Be Zeus my witness first, highest and best of gods, and Earth and Sun, and the Erinyes, that under Earth take vengeance of men, whoever has sworn a false oath, that I never laid hand on the girl Briseis either by way of a lover's embrace or in any other way, but she remained untouched in my huts. And if anything in this oath be false, may the gods give me many woes, all those that they are used to give to anyone who sins against them in his swearing. He spoke, and cut the boar's throat with the pitiless bronze, and the body Talthibius whirled and flung into the great gulf of the gray sea to be food for the fishes.

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Here, too, if we interpret the handling of the boar as an act of sympathetic magic, like Faraone,

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or, what I find more correct, as a “dramatisation” related to an implied (self-) curse, it is not difficult to understand the pure terror that such a rite would have evoked in the spectators, who would have been horrified, imagining themselves floating about dead in the sea, without proper burial.

24

In this case, even though the issue of Achilles' return to battle will have important effects on the outcome of the war, the oath still concerns a private agreement between Agamemnon and Achilles, rather than a public one. Nonetheless, the complexity of the negotiation, preceded by a series of preliminary rites, and concluded with Agamemnon's oath, is identical. All of the leaders met in Agamemnon's tent (except for Achilles), in a sort of “Joint Chiefs of Staff Meeting, where they banqueted. Then, as suggested by Nestor, Agamemnon made the first oath (that he would later repeat in front

of Achilles) to make up for his offence with the promise to return Briseis, whom he swore had never entered his bed,

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and with various sumptuous gifts. Then, the heralds poured water on the hands of the participants and the wine was distributed (in this case, the wine was certainly mixed with water) both to be drunk and, in part, libated.

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The oath proper took place in the presence of Achilles and other military leaders, in front of the tent, where Agamemnon's gifts had been laid out. Once again, the presence of an "audience" is fundamental.

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We can summarise the ritual sequences as follows:

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a) Preparatory sequences:

- v. 249-251: Agamemnon stands up, Talthybius brings a boar;
- v. 252-254: Agamemnon cuts the hair of the boars, as a preliminary offer (there is no mention of the participants holding the hair);

27

b) Treatise and oath:

- v. 257-260: invocation of the gods, as witnesses to the oath;
- v. 261-265: oath and malediction;
- v. 266: first execratory ceremony (Agamemnon cut the boar's throat);
- v. 267-268: second execratory ceremony (Talthybius throws the dead boar into the sea);

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The slaughtering of the boar is thus preceded, as in book III, by its shearing, a divine invocation, and a curse. Furthermore, the same contradiction as before is evident with the offer to Zeus and Helios followed by the total destruction of the victim, thrown into the sea

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The Achaeans conducted their "internal policy" in much the same way as their foreign policy: through oaths. Hints of these oaths, which bound the Achaean princes together, emerge from Nestor's

speech when he reprimands the other Achaean rulers for their wish to abandon the war:

What then is to be the end of our compacts and our oaths? Into the fire let us cast all counsels and plans of warriors, the drinking offerings of unmixed wine, and the handclasps in which we put our trust.

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The terms of the agreement referred to by Nestor are not clear, but they apparently contained the stipulation that the supreme command would be entrusted to Agamemnon

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and that all the parties involved would remain until Troy was captured. Presumably, the compact was solemnized and sealed in the usual way, by slaughtering animals and pouring unmixed wine.

31

The technical vocabulary of the oath is interesting: the use of the expression *συνθεσίου τε καὶ ὄρκια* in the passage quoted above indicates that Homer clearly perceived the difference between a pact and an oath. Pacts refer to the contents of agreements, while oaths embody their form, the way in which pacts are made indissoluble, through the ritual. Important elements of the oath-ritual are the libation of pure wine (*σπονδαί τ' ἄκηρῆτοι*) and the shaking of right hands (*δεξιαί*).

32

Summarising the common elements of these oath-rituals, we have a clear picture of the whole ceremony:

- the oath-ceremony is preceded by ritual purifications, by pouring water on the hands of the oath-takers
- a blood sacrifice is mostly present (in the last case the brevity of the reference does not allow any sure conclusion)
- some of the hair of the sacrificial animals is cut as a preliminary offer and eventually distributed among the participants
- the sacrifice has a “theatrical” nature and the consequences of the curse are enacted by it
- the blood sacrifice can be accompanied by a spoken curse, which makes the gesture explicit and clarifies the curse
- the first execratory ceremony is repeated by a second,

different type of offering: in the first case is a libation of wine, in the second case the slaughtered boar is thrown into the sea

- The pact can be additionally sealed with handclasps
- The solemnity of the ritual is underlined by the fact that the oath-takers always stand up
- There is an “audience”

33

Along with oath-rituals with sacrifice, we find in Homer also oath-rituals without sacrifice. In a case concerning a truce to bury the dead, the oath proposed by the Trojans and which assured Agamemnon’s acceptance of the truce has been accomplished in a completely different way: Agamemnon simply raised his sceptre and invoked Zeus as a witness.

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The absence of the *horkia (pistà) temnein* formula, which was customary in sacrificial ceremonies, indicates the conclusion of an agreement without a sacrifice.

34

In Homer’s works, we often encounter oaths that take place through physical contact with a sceptre or other symbol of power or social position, such as a horse. This appears to be a variant of the oaths that involved slaughtered animals. This type of oath occurs for example, when Achilles backs out of the war,

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when Hector promises the horses of Achilles to Dolon,

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and when Menelaus asks Antilochos to swear upon his horse that he had not won the competition deceitfully.

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Aubriot suggests that in these cases the oath implied a sort of an “automatic” curse. When Achilles, holding the wooden sceptre, remembers the dryness of the branch that will no longer return to life, he might actually be invoking an implicit curse upon himself, something like “May I so dry up if I lie”.

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In the case of Antilochos’ oath, swearing upon the objects used to perpetrate the fault may represent an extension of the “contamination” of the fault to the perjurer. Moreover, since the

instrument of the offence was a horse, Poseidon is witness of the oath

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. However, this automatism between gestures and curses is not always self-evident.

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A “divine” variant of this type of promissory oath can be found in the promise that Hera makes, by the waters of the river Styx, by touching the Earth and the sea, and offering the most beautiful of the Charites to Hypnos, if he will put Zeus to sleep so that she can carry out her plans.

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The physical contact with an object that holds sacred powers seems to be the most important element in this type of oath.

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It is difficult to determine with certainty why one type of oath is chosen over another. Apparently, however, the shortest ritual form was employed when only one party had to make an oath, as in the case of promises. The extended ritual form, on the other hand, seems to have been used for proper agreements, preceded by negotiations, whether public or private.

Oaths during the Archaic and Classical ages

38

“The power which keeps our democracy together is the oath”, Lycurgus stated, clearly demonstrating that in Late Classical Athens oaths were still considered an essential tool for social cohesion and the maintenance of public order.

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In Athens, although the documentation does not provide any certainty, all public officials, archons, and members of the *boule* and courts probably had to take oaths.

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Demosthenes describes the solemn oath that prosecutors had to take prior to prosecuting a homicide case in the court of the Areopagus

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You are all of course aware that in the Areopagus, where the law both permits and enjoins the trial of homicide, first every man who brings accusation of such a crime must make oath by invoking destruction upon himself, his kindred and his household; secondly, that he must not treat this oath as an ordinary oath, but as one which no man swears for any purpose; for he stands on the entrails of a boar, a ram, and a bull.

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Once again, the self-curse and contact with the victims seem to be essential elements of the ritual. The triad of sacrificed victims appears to be very common in oath-sacrifices up to the Hellenistic period and especially in the context of international agreements.

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The term *tomia*, which frequently recurs in the technical language of the oath-sacrifice, has been variously interpreted as meaning “entrails”, “testicles” or “sliced victims”. Those authors who translate *tomia* as “testicles” suggest that such an oath brought castration upon the perjurer.

67

Although this idea fits well with the traditional emphasis in Greek curses on the destruction of both the perjurer and his offspring, Faraone has demonstrated that this is not necessarily so, especially since castration is never clearly spelled out in the Greek sources and is also completely unattested in parallel Near Eastern curses.

68

It is far more likely that there was a different semantic meaning at work in this case; the mutilated animals, like the wine and the slaughtered lambs in the mentioned Homeric oath, prefigure the fate of the perjurers, who will be brutally massacred.

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Although *tomia* are frequent in Greek oath-sacrifices of the Archaic and Classical periods, it is not common for the oath-maker to stand on them.

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As in the Homeric oath-sacrifices, the ritual seems to involve some kind of contact between the oath-makers and the object on which they swore. Demosthenes pointed out that standing upon the *tomia* was a special addition to the ordinary oath, probably to make the ritual even more solemn and fearful. The centre of this “high-

intensity ritual” seems to be the act of touching.

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The special nature of this oath is also emphasized by the fact that it could only be administered on special days and by specially appointed officials.

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Similar oaths were also taken at the homicide court near the Palladion, where oath-makers apparently cut up the victims themselves, while invoking their own destruction and that of their children if they ever were to commit perjury.

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Another equally solemn oath was sworn by the nine archons, who had to step onto a special rock, upon which the *tomia* of an unspecified animal had been placed, and swear to act honestly and refuse bribes.

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In any case, frequent allusions to oaths made κατὰ ἱερῶν τελείων

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suggest that the bodies of sacrificial animals were often used in oath-rituals. A peculiar variation of this type of oath-sacrifices was to bring the oath-makers into direct physical contact with the carcass or a part of it. Herodotus describes such a scene when he tells the story of the Spartan king Damaratos, who sacrificed a bull to Zeus and forced his mother to hold its intestines (*splanchna*) in her hands, while swearing on the true identity of his father.

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The Homeric expression *horkia temnein* suggests that this use may indeed be very ancient. In a literary fragment, Alcaeus describes the loyalty oath he once swore with Pittacus and which contains one of the first examples of such an oath-ritual in the Archaic Period:

...since once we swore, cutting [...] never to abandon any of our comrades, but either to die at the hands of men who at that time [come against us] and lie clothed in the earth, or else to kill them and rescue the people from their woes...

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The mutilation of animals is briefly indicated by the present participle τόμοντες, suggesting that the oath-takers themselves had

slaughtered the victims while taking the oath. Although Alcaeus doesn't mention the exact words of the curse, we can infer that some "performed curse" was involved: the oath-takers damned themselves to lie dead on the ground, like the mutilated animals, if they didn't fulfil their oath.

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At times, the victims were burnt following a type of ritual that was also common to other sacrifices, which were often, but not exclusively, *chthonic* ones. In an Athenian treatise, dated 465 BC, on Erythrai the oath is sworn as κατὰ [h]ιερόν [κ]αιομένον.

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"Powerful" oath rituals were also required before going to war. In Aeschylus' *Septem*, the Seven swear to conquer Thebes or die in the attempt, while slaughtering their sacrificial victim (a bull) on a shield and touching the blood.

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The use of the present participle underlines the fact that the actions of slaughtering the animal and swearing take place simultaneously, while the repetition of the word *phonos* appears to connect the killing of the bull to the fate of the oath-takers. A central moment of this ritual is surely that of touching the blood but also the place of the slaughtering (on the shield) transmits an important symbolic message, which, I think, is perfectly parallel to the slaughtering of the lambs in the third book of the *Iliad*. The gasping lambs of the *Iliad* and the *taureios phonos* of the *Septem* belong to the same semantic category.

48

At the end of Euripides' *Supplices*, Adrastus swears, while cutting *sphagia*, that the Argives will never attack Athens. Adrastus slits the throats of three sheep over a brazen cauldron onto the inner surface of which the text of the oath is etched.

78

The knife that is used to kill the animals will be buried between Argos and Athens, so that if Adrastus should pass that place with his soldiers, the knife will reappear and make them flee. Thus, the connection between the slaughtered animals and the fate of the oath-breakers is sufficiently explicit.

79

In both cases, the poets appear to describe a scene that must have been very familiar to their contemporaries, so much so that only a few details were necessary to transmit the mental picture. Xenophon describes a similar oath-sacrifice used to seal an agreement between the Greek mercenaries and their Persian ally Arieus:

These oaths they sealed by sacrificing a bull, a wolf, a boar, and a ram over a shield, the Greeks dipping a sword in the blood and the barbarians a lance.

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The use of the shield brings to mind the passage in Aeschylus. Faraone suggests that the shields were laid upside down in order to collect the blood.

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Presumably, the sight of blood or parts of flesh on the inside of a shield constituted a terrifying prophecy for a soldier. Again, we find a variant of the ritual touching of the blood: here it is not a hand which contacts the blood, but a sword. Nevertheless, the symbolic meaning of the message seems to me to be the same. A parallel can be found in the peculiar rite that the Greeks performed in 479 BC, when they swore their oaths at Plataea, by piling their shields on the top of the *sphagia*.

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The oath of the Phocaeans is sworn in a similar situation, facing an imminent Persian invasion. The Phocaeans swore to leave their country rather than to submit to the Persian conquerors.

83

This agreement was sealed by a “strong oath”, in which the Phocaeans threw an iron bar (*mydros*) into the sea swearing that they would not return until the iron bar started floating. The members of the Delian League performed an identical ceremony.

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These ceremonies, which remind us of the Homeric oaths of Achilles and Agamemnon,

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are usually interpreted as typical Ionian rites, which express the eternity of an agreement.

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The idea of the eternal validity of a pact sealed in this manner seems

to be confirmed in a passage by Diodorus on the Epidamnii, who swore in a similar manner never to fight amongst themselves again.

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Although we can not exclude that, occasionally, this meaning may have been implied, the comparison with other oaths, in which the predominant aspects are the intimidating atmosphere and the theatrical performance of the curse, suggests that in this case, too, everything points to an enactment of the curse through a substitute. To throw something into the sea could in this case have been associated with a death in a naval battle – taking in account the peculiar cultural characteristics of the oath-takers (in both cases naval powers). Thus the prophecy of the *mydros* corresponds very well to the prophecy of the gasping lambs and the blood on the shields.

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The complete destruction of a symbolic object, whether a burnt or dismembered sacrificial victim or a piece of metal or other material, seems to be a frequent practice in Greek oath-rituals both in the classic and archaic periods. A very peculiar ritual, which has few parallels in Greece but many in the Near East, thereby revealing its antiquity, is the oath sworn in the so-called “Cyrenean Foundation Decree”, a fourth-century inscription which describes what appears to be the transcription of an oath of the seventh-century Thera colonists:

88

On these conditions they made an agreement, those who stayed here and those who sailed on the colonial expedition, and they put curses on those who should transgress these conditions and not abide by them, whether those living in Libya or those staying in Thera. They moulded wax images and burnt them while they uttered the following imprecation, all of them, having come together, men and women, boys and girls: may he, who does not abide by this agreement but transgresses it, melt away and dissolve like the images, himself, his seed and his property.

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There are many interesting aspects of this oath, which involves a conditional self-imprecation and a ritual performance that was officiated over with wax effigies (*kolossoi*) representing the oath-breakers. This oath has been long considered a fourth-century

invention, because of the apparently unparalleled use of the melting *kolossoi* in Greek rituals of the archaic period.

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Quite on the contrary, the practice was very widespread in both Hellenistic and Roman erotic magic; it was however, employed in very different contexts and never in proper oath-rituals.

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As Faraone has demonstrated, this type of rite may be interpreted as a ritual employing an identification (which he interprets as sympathetic magic) with the victims or the destroyed object, which is, although in different forms, well documented in both Archaic and Classical Greece. Moreover, rituals employing the destruction of wax effigies were widespread in the eastern Mediterranean basin during the Greek archaic period and also appeared in the context of oaths sworn over early international treaties.

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Thus, the melted wax served the same function as the wine libation in the third book of the *Iliad*, the *tomia* frequently found in the oaths of both the Archaic and Classical Periods and the *mydros* thrown into the water:

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the representation of a curse through a symbolic substitute and the simultaneous affirmation of the irreversible tie created by the oath.

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One may find it surprising that the entire population, including women and children, was to attend at oath-rituals. A similar mass participation in oaths can be found in some international treaties of Hellenistic Crete, although the explicit mention of women and children is a *unicum*.

94

Nonetheless, the presence of an emotionally participant “public” that is witness to the oath is rather frequent in Greek sources. For example, at the end of the oath sworn by Agamemnon and Priam, the Trojan and Achaean Princes who witnessed the ceremony repeat the curse.

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A similar procedure can be found in the women’s oath in Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata*, in which one participant repeats the

conditions of the oath and the others simply give their assent at the end.

96

Secondary participants did not need to have the political rights necessary to undertake a legally binding agreement. They were simply present to underline the fact that the curse would affect the entire community and that the consequences of perjury were known not only to all the political leaders, but also to the entire population.

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Even on other less solemn occasions than the foundation of a new colony, the foreign policy of the Greek *poleis* often turned to oaths. Every treaty and alliance, indeed all interstate relations were based on “faith” (*pistis*). Although in a society in which non-written law and ancestral traditions were as important as a constitution, the spoken word had a different value than in a modern bureaucratic society, faith was still very little as a foundation for war and peace, duties, tributes and alliances. Thus, a solemn oath was nearly always employed to reinforce “faith”. Indeed, oaths were the juridical basis of every international treaty. A mere promise that was not Supplémented and confirmed by a fitting religious formula was not necessarily considered binding. Philip’s campaign against Thrace during peacetime, for instance, could not be impugned by the Athenians on a legal basis as a violation of the treaties, because the peace negotiations that were being held with Athens in 346 BC had not yet been sealed by an oath. Thus, even if Philip’s strategy was certainly ambiguous, there had not been any formal breach of the peace treaty

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. The violation of an oath would not only have brought divine vengeance down upon the perpetrator, but it would also have been a reason for reprisals and war.

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Thucydides and Demosthenes’ orations reveal how, in the crucial years of the Athenian history (the Peloponnesian War and the war against Philip of Macedonia), the relations between cities were regulated by an extremely complicated system of sworn oaths. These, however, did not prevent sudden changes from occurring in the alliances. In fact, even before a military conflict, the changing of sides

led to a true diplomatic stalemate that was not dissimilar to the “cold war” of the late 20th century.

98

In this context, the events recounted by Thucydides which took place in 421-420 BC are extremely instructive. Argos, which had hitherto remained neutral, began weaving a network of alliances that threatened the fragile peace between Sparta and Athens. The Lacedaemonians, worried by this turn of events, sent ambassadors to the Corinthians urging them not to drop out of the Spartan alliance to join the Argive one and soliciting them to sign a peace treaty with Athens. The Corinthians, however, claimed that they could not betray the Thracian colonies to which they were bound by far more ancient oaths stipulated during the Potidean Rebellion: “She (Corinth) denied therefore that she committed any violation of her oaths to the allies in not entering into the treaty with Athens; having sworn upon the faith of the gods to her Thracian friends, she could not honestly give them up”.

99

58

The many texts of international treaties that Thucydides has transmitted down to us present a homogeneous, albeit very concise structure: the initial description of treaty clauses is immediately followed by an oath. Thucydides does however specify that on certain occasions the pact was sworn according “to the greatest oath of the country”

100

and with “full-grown victims”.

101

The parties participating in the oath were invited to renew their reciprocal pacts at the most solemn festivity

102

and the public area in which the stelae commemorating the pact clauses were to be erected was specified.

103

Often, even the names of the authorities in charge of taking the oath for the city are listed.

104

What Thucydides never includes is the invocation formulas to the gods and the curses, which were certainly part of the oath, as he was far more interested in the legal aspects of the treaties and their

historical consequences, rather than their ritual sequences.

105

These treaties reveal a complex bureaucracy and an intense diplomatic activity, but shed absolutely no new light on the ceremonies that accompanied these oaths. Personally, I believe this is simply a limit of these sources, which certainly cannot lead us to exclude the enactment of a ritual ceremony.

Oaths during the Hellenistic period

59

The analysis of international treaties stipulated during the Hellenistic Age shows that, far from having lost importance, oaths remained both widespread and common. What can effectively be recognised is a standardisation of the formulae that seems to indicate a refinement of bureaucracy, rather than an impoverishment of the practice of adding an oath to a treaty or of the oath itself.

60

In the international treatises of the Cretans, the text of the oath was integrally appended to the text of the treaty. The importance of the act of taking an oath as a means to give value and legitimacy to a treaty is evident in the terminology that often shares the same expression for “treaty” and “oath”: [ἐπὶ τοῖς]δε συνέθεντο... [καὶ ὅρ]κον ὤμοσαν (“on these conditions they agreed ... and they swore an oath”).

106

At times, the treaty and the oath tend to be identified, as in the agreement between Gortyn and the Arcadians, in which the formula τὰδ' ὤμοσαν immediately following the prescript, introduces the text of the oath and the treaty

107

or as in the treaty between Eleutherna and Phaistos, in which the execration formula appears right after the text of the agreement, without any explicit reference to the oath.

108

61

In general, as the agreements were stipulated between different communities, the oaths of both groups were quoted on the inscription, notwithstanding the fact that both oaths followed the

same general scheme.

109

There are, however, inscriptions, in which only one of the two oaths appears. Evidently, in these cases, two written copies of the treaty were prepared, one for each city, each of which contained that city's oath.

110

The invocation of divine witnesses – usually the same for both parties – was followed by a brief exposition of the oath-clauses, which summarised the points that were specified in greater detail in the treaty itself. The curse was always part of an oath, even if it often appeared in a brief and rather standardised form. In general, curses were used to invoke both divine benediction (in terms of the fertility of land, women and animals as well as military victories) for those who respected the treaty, and the wrath of the gods on perjurers, which usually took the form of infertility or defeats.

111

In some cases, a generic devastation was invoked on the parties and their descendants.

112

62

Sometimes the execratory formula was reduced to its minimum terms: εὐορκίονσι μὲν [ἤμεν π]ολ[λ]ὰ καγαθά, ἐφιορκίονσι δὲ [τὸ] ἐναντίον (“if we remain faithful to the oath may good things come to us, otherwise the contrary”) was the curse of a treaty stipulated in 111-110 BC between Hierapytna and Lato.

113

63

The references to the performance of the oath-ritual are rare and very brief on account of the type of document: stone stelae were used to remind the parties of the treaty's main points, not of the rituals that had been celebrated. Nonetheless, it is possible to obtain an idea of the way in which oaths were sworn and the role that oaths played in the treaties of Hellenistic Crete.

64

A number of treaties contained concrete instructions on the ceremony to be accomplished, indicating both the types of sacrificial animals and the type of sacrifice to be employed.

114

In a 3rd century BC treaty between Eleutherna and an unknown city, a

boar is mentioned and, if the reconstruction is correct, a bull and a ram, too. The text is very fragmentary but it seems to indicate that the victim's thigh had to undergo special treatment. It may have been completely burnt on the altar.

115

The initial ceremony, celebrated when the agreement was sealed, was followed by a yearly "renewal" oath. The young Cretans, who at the end of the ephebie obtained citizenship, swore not only as citizens, but also on all the other treaties that bound their *polis* to other cities.

116

65

Two inscriptions dated in the 3rd century BC from the east Cretan *polis* of Itanos clarify the practice of the oath of citizenship and the role of the oath in the maintenance of the social and political order in the Hellenistic Period.

117

The first inscription instructs the archons and priests of Itanos to compose a new civic oath, which is preserved in the second inscription. Every Itanian who enjoyed full rights as a citizen was required to swear, promising to refrain from treachery, sedition and betrayal of the city. Those who observed the oath would be rewarded with the blessings of children, fruitful lands and fertile flocks, while those who broke the oath would encounter utter destruction. The oath had to be sworn on victims that had just been fully burnt (καθ' ἱερῶν νεοκαύ[τ]ων).

118

66

It may be inferred that these oaths took place in the context of the festivities to celebrate the entrance of young men into society as adult male citizens. In fact, the entire festivity may, in certain aspects, have had the character of an initiation, as is witnessed by the fact that the soon-to-be adults swore without weapons (πανάζωστοι).

119

The ritual context of this type of oath is probably the context typical of initiation rites and may have been characterised by ritual transvestism. We can certainly infer from the linguistic evidence that the ceremony involved a change of clothes. The young men from Malla, Lyttos, Dreros and Axos are referred to, in inscriptions, as

“disrobing” (ἐγδύμενοι), when they take their civic oath

120

and in Phaistos the so-called *Ekdysia* (“Festival of Disrobing”) is likely to have been the occasion on which the youths took their oath of citizenship.

121

Like in the case of the Homeric oaths or in the many references to the renewal of international agreements in Thucydides, here, too, the presence of a public seems to be very important. It is in order to secure a great public resonance that these oaths are taken or renewed in the occasion of a public feast.

67

In her comparison between the Hymn to the Greatest Kouros from Palai-kastro and the Itanian civic oath, P. Perlman points out that the many similarities existing between the two texts suggest not only that they both come from the same *polis*, but also from the same context of civic-oath ceremonies.

122

The yearly renewal of the alliances between the Cretan *poleis* that took place during these festivities was carried out with a public reading of the text of the alliance and followed by the new graduate Ephebes swearing to uphold the alliance oath.

123

These festivals may have also provided the opportunity for the graduation ceremony of the community’s Ephebes and the administration of the civic oath to new citizens.

68

Certainly, the references to ritual in the inscriptions of this period are generally rare and although this may depend on the type of source we cannot exclude that the use of “dramatising” rituals through the dismemberment of victims, the contact with blood or the melting of wax was abandoned. The mentions of fully burnt animals in the Hellenistic treaties seem to me in any case to refer to the same semantic sphere: the enactment of the curse through the destruction of a substitute.

Conclusions

69

The oath-ritual was used to create a special bond between the parties to the oath and the sacred sphere through the invocation of a superhuman force: either the gods or the forces of nature. This bond was considered effective even if the divinities were not expressly invoked.

70

The founding element of an oath was based on the irreversible nature of the act, which was made clear by the complete destruction of the sacrificial victim (either through combustion or dismemberment), of an object (melted wax, an animal carcass or a piece of metal thrown into the sea) or the shedding of liquid on to the ground (wine or blood). At the same time, these actions also represented acts of a “theatrical” performance that enacted the destiny of perjurers by evoking their possible death through the use of gestures and words. The curse, which was usually pronounced once the animal had been mutilated or burnt, the wine libated or the wax melted, emphasised and explained the ritual gesture that had just been enacted.

71

At times, the dramatic dimension of the ritual was augmented by the physical contact with the sacred objects, whether it be the intestines (*splanchna*) or butchered parts (*tomia*) of the mutilated animal

124

or simply the victims,

125

the sceptre as a symbol of command,

126

or the immersion of hands or swords into the victim’s blood.

127

This contact has been interpreted in a “magical” sense: by touching the altar, the sceptre or the victims, individuals entered into contact with the *puissance*, thereby placing themselves within a universal religious order that enclosed and gave order to society and law, as well as to the forces of nature and reproduction.

128

Giorgieri, which follows Faraone in his interpretation of the oath-ceremonies as rituals implying magic, distinguishes between two types of ritual magic in oath-ceremonies: analogical magic (the poured wine symbolising the brain or the cutting of the lambs’ throats whose slow bleeding represented the agony of the dying

warrior) or magic through contact (touching the victims or their blood).

129

These two forms, however, do not exclude each other and may appear together in the same ritual, providing a dense amount of symbolic meaning that was certainly strongly perceived by the audience. What seems to me indisputable is the communicative intention of setting under the eyes of both the oath-takers and of the public a contact with the sacred, through a sacrificial victim or through a symbol.

72

The curses that were invoked against perjurers usually included a violent death and a long agony. Naturally, these were particularly realistic – and therefore undoubtedly efficient – during times of war in which there also was the fear of dying unburied, which was symbolically recreated by throwing the carcass of the sacrificial animal into the sea. Moreover, the infertility of women, land and animals was also explicitly invoked in many curses. The curse against the perjurer (*epiorkos*) could be counterbalanced by “good wishes” made to those who respected the pact (*euorkos*).

73

Thus, fear was a fundamental effect of the ceremony. In this sense, the harshness of the blood rituals and the violence of the curse also played another role: they functioned as a deterrent. The public also played a fundamental role as a witness and as a guarantor in such an enactment. In fact, the violation of an oath would not only involve the perjurer, but also the entire community to which the perjurer belonged. This was the reason why even women and children were present at the most solemn oaths, such as that for the foundation of Cyrene.

74

Symbolic gestures were essential even in less “spectacular” oaths. In Sophocles’ *Trachiniae*, the dying Heracles asks his son Hyllus to swear that he will burn him on a pier and marry Iole. The oath, to which Zeus is witness and which is to bring misfortune if broken, was pronounced while shaking (right) hands.

130

In Euripides’ *Medea* the gesture of shaking (right) hands while pronouncing the oath is the ritual that seals the ἐγγύη (engagement)

131

. In completely different contexts, this gesture can also be found in the *Iliad* with the same solemn meaning to indicate the sworn oaths that have united the Achaean leaders in the expedition against Troy

132

and, in foreign politics, in an alliance-treaty between Athens and Leontinoi in 433-432 BC.

133

75

By shaking their (right) hands, the two parties sealing the oath established a direct contact without having to turn to a sacrificial intermediary. They become the “sacred object” themselves by putting themselves in each other’s hands and sealing a pact “for life or death”.

134

The Homeric oaths that were sworn on the sceptre, or touching the altar or the earth are normally considered variants of these type of oath.

135

76

In general, most modern authors agree that, both in the Homeric Age and in the following period, the complex form of ritual, with sacrifice and enactment of the curse, was not the most common one, but rather that it was reserved for special occasions and solemn oaths.

136

Moreover, many scholars tend to believe in an evolution of the oath itself from an “irrational” form, typical for the archaic age, to a more “rational” one, in which the religious or magical aspects are no longer as much in the foreground.

137

However, in making these evaluations, we must keep in mind a problem that is intrinsic to the sources. We do not possess the original archival documents for any of the Greek oaths. In the best possible case, the original text and the clauses of the treaty may be preserved in an epigraph. Inscriptions, however, rarely contain references to rites, as these were probably well known and, in any case, only represented an external warranty to the treaty itself.

138

77

The fact that we often have to refer to secondary sources, reconstructing rituals from poetic references, the speeches of orators

and the writings of historians, leads to a series of issues. Naturally, these sources provide most of the information on the details functional within the context of the text in which the oaths occur and which are not necessarily the most important elements of the oath-ceremony. For example, in many treaties on international agreements or important national policy issues, the mention of *iera teleia* (full grown victims) implies the presence of sacrifices, but we are not able to determine the type of sacrifice that was carried out.

139

On the basis of the references provided by Athenian orators of the 5th and 4th centuries BC, we can deduce that the oaths taken in courtrooms by the prosecutor or witnesses were still accompanied by some form of ritual that normally entailed a blood sacrifice.

140

78

Furthermore, the type of ritual form that was enacted does not seem to depend on the type of agreement that was sealed. Similar rituals appear in vastly different documents and, vice versa, different rituals were used in the same context. The analysis of the available material shows that alliance-treaties between two *poleis* could be sealed with the same ritual used in a private agreement such as a marriage-promise. Thus, we may exclude the following equations: *less solemn occasion* = *brief oath* and *more solemn occasion* = *more solemn oath*, as well as *private occasion* = *brief oath* and *public occasion* = *more solemn oath*. Nonetheless, I believe that the “long” type of oath was more widespread than we would suppose from the scant sources. A comparison between the Greek archaic oaths and the documents from the Near East (in which such rituals are very common) makes clear that last record many of the details that the Greek sources often tended to omit.

79

The places in which oaths were sworn and the physical individuals who took the oath varied depending on the occasion. In terms of location, the oath often (but not always) took place in the vicinity of a sacred place, sanctuary or altar. The oath of the Athenian Ephebes, for example, took place at the sanctuary of Aglauros,

141

the high priests of the cult of Dionysus swore πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ touching the victims

and Callias swore to the identity of his son by touching the altar.

In certain cases, the ceremonies would occur in a place that allowed the participation of a large audience and also public visibility. The treaty of *sympoliteia* between Teos and Kyrbissos (3rd century BC) was concluded by the sacrifice of a ram, a bull and a boar in the agora

and the same place was selected to seal the treaty of *homopoliteia* between Cos and Calymna.

The oaths that sealed international treaties and which were renewed yearly could be held on special festive occasions. Even in these cases, the reason lies in the vast public that was present and in the solemnity of the context.

In the *Iliad*, oaths take place in military camps, between tents, with the sole presence of the Achaeans and Trojan leaders.

There is no mention of altars, permanent cult structures or priests participating in the sacrifice. Although this may have been a particular situation, due to war, it does not seem, in general, that specialized liturgical personnel performed the oath sacrifice.

80

Similarly, there do not appear to have been any fixed rules concerning the individuals who physically swore international treaties. The Cretan international treaties, for example, seem to have been sworn by all of the citizens,

while, in other cases, the oath was taken by appointed magistrates or by a representative that swore on behalf of the city.

81

Probably more than one factor determined the form and the performance of an oath-ritual: the type of agreement (public or private), the presence of a public (a few witnesses or the entire civil body), the contingent situation (war or peace).

82

The role of oaths was to forge a link between the human word or

promise and the divine law thereby making it credible and exerting an external pressure, a coercion that ensured that agreements would not be violated. If the oath was carried out as prescribed, respecting certain rules and using certain expressions, the agreement was considered valid because it had taken place within a recognized frame. The frame, the actors, the performed gestures and the spoken words had a specific function and an enormous importance. Even the lexicon used in sealing an oath, which was based on the technical terminology of “oath-cutting” (*temnein*, *tomia*) indicates the importance and the sacred nature of the gesture. Expressions such as *spondas kai horkia temnein* placed the ritual gestures of the oath “in the limelight”.

83

Inside an identifiable structure, the elements of the ritual can vary in a very individual manner, depending on many different factors – the occasion of the oath, the intentions of the oath-takers, the historical context – so that we can easily conclude that not *one* oath-ritual exists, but rather *many* historical variants.

84

In summary, I believe the Greek oath-ritual was a polycentric ritual, involving many elements, which could all be present, or only in part, depending on the different contexts and on the different variants of oath-rituals being celebrated. Moreover, the same elements could carry more than one symbolic meaning. Thus, for instance, the *mydros*, which was thrown into the sea, could at the same time visualized the curse (a violent death without proper burial), and also remind the spectators that the pact sealed was intended to be valid forever.

85

Some recurring elements seem to be particularly important in an oath-ritual:

86

Self-curse. The self-curse involves usually not only the perjurer himself but also his family or his community or both.

87

Dramatisation. Mostly it implies a sacrifice or a sacrifice-like procedure: animals are slaughtered, blood or wine is libated on the ground, wax is melted. It is not important what is sacrificed but how.

The gesture is a performance of the spoken self-curse and depends strongly upon the type of agreement and the recipient: thus, for example, to bathe a sword in blood has a terrible meaning for a soldier, but it means nothing to a bride.

88

Touching. The *tomia* or the blood of the victims is sometimes touched by the participant in the ritual, in order to be bound together, and to bind themselves to the victims. In this case, touching the victims seems to be an accessory element, something which makes the ritual stronger but does not change its meaning. Sometimes however, the gesture of touching seems to be the “centre” of the symbolic meaning of the ritual, for instance, shaking hands or swearing on the altar. In these cases the gesture seems to imply a sort of “transmission of power” (the sacred nature of the altar, the sceptre, the earth, or even the life itself of the oath-takers) which binds the oath-takers together.

89

Sometimes, one element can summarise and include the others: for instance, the self-curse can require some performance or not, the slaughtering of the animals can be preceded or followed by the self-curse, or the self-curse can be implicit and only enacted but not spoken. In some cases it is important to touch the carcass or the pieces of the slaughtered animals, so that we find a combination of the two elements of touching the victims and enacting the self-curse. In other cases, the victims do not seem to be touched, or there are no victims at all, but only the gesture of touching, for instance the altar or the earth, or the hands of the other oath-takers.

90

In the majority of cases we do not know enough of the context to say why some elements are preferred to some others. But we can in any case conclude that an oath-ritual always implied a sort of communication, a ritual language whose semantics are strongly influenced by the content, by the senders and the recipients of the message.

Notes

1 I will only mention a selection of the most recent studies on oath and perjury: J. Plescia, *The Oath and Perjury in Ancient Greece*, Tallahassee, 1970; D. Aubriot, "Formulations possibles du serment et conceptions religieuses en Grèce ancienne", *Kernos* 4 (1991), p. 91-103; R. Verdier (ed.), *Le Serment I-II*, Paris, 1991; P. Karavites, *Promise Giving and Treaty Making. Homer and the Near East*, Leiden, 1992; C.A. Faraone, "Molten Wax, Spilt Wine and Mutilated Animals: Sympathetic Magic in Near Eastern and Early Greek Oath-ceremonies", *JHS* 113 (1993), p. 60-80; V. Saladino, "Aspetti rituali del giuramento greco", in A. Calore (ed.), *Seminari di storia e di diritto antico*, 2, *Studi sul giuramento nel mondo antico*, Milano, 1998, p. 87-106; F. Zuccotti, "Il giuramento in Grecia e nella Roma pagana. Aspetti essenziali e linee di sviluppo", in o.c., p. 1-86; M. Giorgieri, "Aspetti magico-religiosi del giuramento presso gli Ittiti e i Greci", in S. Ribichini, M. Rocchi (eds), *La questione delle influenze vicino-orientali sulla religione greca: stato degli studi e prospettive della ricerca. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di Roma, 20-22 maggio 1999*, Roma, 2001, p. 421-440; M. Kitts, "Not Barren is the Blood of Lambs: Homeric Oath-Sacrifice as Metaphorical Transformation", *Kernos* 16 (2003), p. 17-34; see also W. Burkert (in this volume).

2 Eustathius, ad B 339; *Etym. Magn.*, s.v. ὄρκιος. See Plescia, o.c. (n. 1), p. 1-2. See also P. Torricelli, "Sul greco ὄρκιος e la figura lessicale del giuramento", *RAL serie 8*, 36 (1981), p. 125-139, who interprets the etymological meaning of the term as a symbolic limit that delineates the cultural, social and existential status that the oath-maker enjoys and which the oath-maker provides as a guarantee of his promise, losing it if he contravenes the oath.

3 Hesiod, *Theogony*, 793-803.

4 The clearest evidence for litigants' oaths is from the Gortynian Law Code: *IC IV*, 72, 3, 5-9 and 11, 46-50; *IC IV*, 72, 2, 36-45; *IC IV*, 72, 9, 37-40; compare also *IC IV*, 47, 16-26. A similar legal procedure was supposed to have been instituted by Solon: "Solon told the accused to swear an oath, when he did not have either a contract or witnesses, and similarly the accuser" (*Anecdota Graeca* I, p. 242, 20-22, ed. Bekker); in classical Athens, both litigants were required to swear oaths in support of their cases at the preliminary hearing (*anakrisis*): Pollux, VIII, 117; Demosthenes, 23, 63; 67-68; 71; Antiphon, 6, 5-6; another very popular practice was the oath-challenge: Dem., 39, 3-4; 40, 11. For an excellent study of litigants' oaths and their legal meaning, see M. Gagarin, "Oaths and Oath-Challenges in Greek Law", in G. Thür, J. Vélissaropoulos-Karakostas (eds), *Symposion. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte 1-5 Sept. 1995*, Köln, 1997, p. 125-134, who points out that such oaths were usually accepted when no other evidence could be found by the litigants. See also D.C. Mirhady, "The Oath-Challenge in Athens", *CQ* 41, 1 (1991), p. 78-83, who argues that the oath-challenge was effectively an alternative method of ending litigations, without proceeding to the *dikasterion*, and C. Carey, "The Witness's *Exomosis* in the Athenian Courts", *CQ* 45, 1 (1995), p. 114-119, for the use of oaths in the witnesses' testimony. The Athenian judges also had to make an oath,

- swearing that they would judge fairly: Pollux, VIII, 122; *Anecd. Graeca* I, p. 443, 24-31 (ed. Bekker); for the oath of the Athenian Heliaea, see Dem., 20, 118; 24, 149-151; 55, 63. See also Plescia, o.c. (n. 1), p. 26-27 and D. Asheri, "Gli impegni politici nel giuramento degli Eliasti ateniesi", *RAL* 19, serie 8 (1964), p. 281-293.
- 5 Treaty of alliance between Athens and Argos (Thucydides, V, 47, 8); Peace of Nikias (Thuc, V, 18); decree on *asylia* between Oiantheia and Khaleion (*IG* I², 717; see also *Nomima* I, 53); see also A. Chaniotis, *Die Verträge zwischen kretischen Poleis in der hellenistischen Zeit*, Stuttgart, 1996.
- 6 *IG* IX I², 3, 718 (From Khaleion, about the foundation of the colony of Naupaktos; see also *Nomima* I, 43 and *IGT*, 49); *SEG* 9, 3 (Cyrenean foundation oath; see also R. Meiggs, D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford, 1988, 5 and *Nomima* I, 41).
- 7 New laws: Andocides, 1, 96-98 (Athenian oath of allegiance to the democratic constitution in 410 BC); *I.Erythrai*, 2 (see also *Nomima* I, 106, decree for the restoration of the democracy). Public contracts: *IG* XII, 9, 191 (contract between Chairephanes and the Eretrians); *ICS*, 217 (see also *Nomima* I, 31, contract for a family of doctors).
- 8 Lycurgus, 1, 79. Oath of the Nine Archonts: Aristotle, *Athenaion Politeia*, 3, 3; 7, 1; oath for the Council of Five Hundreds: Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 22, 2; Plescia, o.c. (n. 1), p. 24-25. See also Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 55, 5 and Plutarch, *Solon*, 25, 2. For a commentary on the Aristotelian passages, see P.J. Rhodes, *Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, Oxford, 1981, p. 100-101, 135-136, 263-264. Oaths of other magistrates: *IG* I³, 3 (Marathon, oath of the sport judges; see also *Nomima* II, 1 B = *IGT*, 3); *CID* I, 9 (Delphi, oath of the officials of the phratry of the Labyadai; see also *IGT*, 46).
- 9 *IG* II-III², 1237; S.D. Lambert, *The Phratries of Attica*, Ann Arbor, 1998 [1993], p. 161-178, 285-293.
- 10 Pausanias, V, 24, 9-11.
- 11 The great majority of the examples I analyse in this paper are to be found in Karavites, o.c. (n. 1); Faraone, l.c. (n. 1), p. 60-80; Giorgieri, l.c. (n. 1), p. 421-440, and for the Hellenistic period, in Chaniotis, o.c. (n. 5). To these authors my paper is much indebted.
- 12 See for instance the very interesting article of Faraone, l.c. (n. 1), p. 60-80.
- 13 Homer, *Iliad* XXIII, 42.
- 14 Hom., *Odyssey* II, 373; 377-378; IV, 252-256.
- 15 Hom., *Il.* III, 73; 94; 103-107.
- 16 Hom., *Il.* II, 337-341.
- 17 Hom., *Il.* VII, 406-412.
- 18 Hom., *Od.* V, 177-187; X, 299-301; 342-347; 380-381.
- 19 Hom., *Il.* IX, 132-134; X, 274-276; 328-332; XIX, 175-177; 242-268; XXIII, 439-441; 581-585.
- 20 E.g. Hom. *Il.* XIV, 271-280; XV, 36-40; XIX, 108.
- 21 Hom., *Il.* II, 339.

22 The interpretation of the Homeric oaths requires us to keep in mind the poetic nature of the source. A greater or lesser precision in the description of an oath scene is usually determined by the necessity of the verses or the plot, rather than the need to reproduce a clear and juridically precise agreement. The vocabulary used in the description of oaths in Homer's works is, however, always of a technical nature.

23 Hom., *Il.* III, 85-94 (transl. AT. Murray): Ἐκτωρ δὲ μετ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἔειπε | “νέκλυτέ μευ, Τρῶες καὶ εὐννήμιδες Ἀχαιοί, | μῦθον Ἀλεξάνδροιο, τοῦ εἵνεκα νεΐμος ὄρωρεν. | ἄλλους μὲν κέλεται Τρῶας καὶ πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς | τεύχεα ἀλ' ἀποθέσθαι ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ, | αὐτὸν δ' ἐν μέσσω καὶ ἀρηϊφίλον Μενέλαον | οἴους ἀμφ' Ἑλένη καὶ κτήμασι πᾶσι μάεσθαι. | ὁπότερος δέ κε νικήσῃ κρείσσων τε γένηται, | κτήμαθ' ἑλὼν εὖ πάντα γυναιῖα τε οἶμαδ' ἀγέσθω | οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φιλότῃ καὶ ὄρκια πιστὰ τάμωμεν.”

See also *ibid.*, 67-75 and 284-287. In Hector's promise, only Helen and his possessions are to be given back, and there is no mention of an additional reward, which Agamemnon will demand when the oath is taken before the duel.

24 Hom., *Il.* II, 124; III, 73; 105; 256; IV, 155-157.

25 For example, *Nomima* I, 19 (Halikarnassos, 475/450), 32 (Kyzikos, 6th cent. BC), 62 (Chios, about 550 BC).

26 Hom., *Il.* III, 103-107 (transl. A.T. Murray): οἴσσετε δ' ἄρν', ἕτερον λευκόν, ἑτέρεον δὲ μέλαιναν, | Γῆ τε καὶ Ἥελίῳ· Διὶ δ' ἡμεῖς οἴσομεν ἄλλον. | ἄξετε δὲ Πριάμοιο βίην, ὄφρ' ὄρκια τάμνη | αὐτός, ἐπεὶ οἱ παῖδες ὑπερφίαλοι καὶ ἄπιστοι, | μὴ τις ὑπερβασίῃ Διὸς ὄρκια δηλήσῃται.

27 Hom., *Il.* III, 245-249.

28 Hom., *Il.* III, 267-275 (transl. A.T. Murray): ὄρνυτο δ' αὐτὶν ἔπειτα ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων, | ἄν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς πολύμητις ἀτὰρ κήρυκες ἀγαυοὶ | ὄρκια πιστὰ θεῶν σύναγον, κρητῆρι δὲ οἶνον | μίσγον, ἀτὰρ βασιλεῦσιν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχευαν. | Ἀτρεΐδης δὲ ἐρυσσάμενος χεῖρεσσι μάχαιραν, | ἣ οἱ παρ' ξίφεος μέγα μουλεὸν αἰὲν ἄωρτο, | ἀρνῶν ἐκ κεφαλῶν τάμνε τρίχας· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα | κήρυκες Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν νεῖμαν ἀρίστοις. | τοῖσιν δ' Ἀτρεΐδης μεγάλ' εὐχέτο χεῖρας ἀνασχών·; 291-301: Ἥ καὶ ἀπὸ στομάχους ἀρνῶν τάμε νηεῖ χαλκῷ· | καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ χθονὸς ἀσπαίροντας, | θυμοῦ δευομένους· ἀπὸ γὰρ μένος εἶλετο χαλκός. | οἶνον δ' ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀφυσσόμενοι δεπάεσσιν | ἔκχεον, ἥδ' εὐοντο θεοῖς αἰειγενέτησιν. | ὦδε δὲ τις εἵπεσκεν Ἀχαιῶν τε Τρώων τε· | “Ζεῦ κῦδιστε μέγιστε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι, | ὁπότεροι πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ὄρκια πημύνειαν, | ὦδέ σφ' ἐγνέφαλος χαμάφης ῥέοι ὥς ὅδε οἶνος, | αὐτῶν καὶ τεκῆων, ἄλοχοι δ' ἄλλοισι δαμεῖεν.”

29 In the *Iliad* private issues are often inseparable from public issues: Achilles abandons the war over a quarrel on the ownership of a female slave and, similarly, the Trojan War is caused by a woman's abduction.

30 Hom., *Il.* III, 105-106; Karavites, o.c. (n. 1), p. 23.

31 As Karavites, o.c. (n. 1), p. 116-117 points out, the choice between the two “field

hands” is not a casual one. Odysseus was considered a diplomat *par excellence* (Hom., *Il.* III, 310), and Antenor represented, among the Trojans, the faction that favoured negotiation (Hom., *Il.* III, 205-224; VII, 347-364).

32 In III, 295, it is not specified whether the wine is pure or mixed; in IV, 159, the same libations are defined *spondai akretoi*, which means with unmixed wine. The krater that is mentioned in verse 295 will in this case simply have functioned as a container or may have been used to mix the wine brought by the Greeks with that provided by the Trojans. See G.S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary I*, Cambridge, 1985, p. 347.

33 Hom., *Il.* I, 449; *Od.* III, 440; 445.

34 For the importance of the hands in the oath-ritual, see *infra*.

35 See, for example, Hom., *Od.* III, 446; XIV, 422. The scholion commenting this passage (Schol. Hom., *Il.* 3.273b, ed. Erbse) indicates that the hair/wool of victims employed in *enagizein* sacrifices was not thrown into the fire. In this case however, the sacrifice is not a true *enagismos*, since the victims are not burnt. On the *Voropfer* refer to G.S. Kirk, “Some Methodological Pitfalls in the Study of Ancient Greek Sacrifice (in particular)”, in J. Rudhardt (ed.), *Le sacrifice dans l'antiquité*, Geneve, 1981 (*Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique*, 27), p. 63.

36 Arnobius, *Adversus nationes*, 7, 9; F.T. van Straten, *Hiera kalá. Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece*, Leiden, 1995, p. 181-186.

37 LSCG 20, B 17-18 (Marathonian Tetrapolis).

38 Paus., V, 24, 11.

39 Hom., *Il.* X, 521; XIII, 442; Kirk, o.c. (n. 32), p. 307-308. See also M. Kitts, *l.c.* (n. 1), p. 27 and 33 who underlines the metaphorical meaning of this association.

40 Hom., *Il.* XX, 471-472; See Faraone, *l.c.* (n. 1), p. 75.

41 Faraone, *l.c.* (n. 1), p. 60-80, especially p. 74-75. I do not intend to raise the controversy on the relation between “religion” and “magic” and the legitimacy of employing the terminology used by Faraone. For further considerations on this issue refer to Faraone himself in *l.c.*, p. 60, n. 3 and p. 77-78. See also H.S. Versnel, “Some Reflections on the Relationship Magic-Religion”, *Numen* 38 (1991), p. 177-197.

42 Contact with the object upon which one swears, whether a sacrificial animal, the sceptre as a symbol of power or the head of a horse, is a recurring element in Homeric oaths: see for example, Hom., *Il.* VII, 406-412; XIV, 271-280; XXIII, 439-441; 581-585. See also *infra*.

43 Hom., *Il.* IV, 158.

44 I use here the terminology of F. Graf, “Milch, Honig und Wein. Zum Verständnis der Libation im griechischen Ritual”, in *Perennitas. Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich. Promossi dalla Cattedra di religioni del mondo classico dell' Università degli Studi di Roma*, Roma, 1980, p. 209-221, who classifies the sacrifices in the two categories of normality (“everyday” sacrifice) and anomaly (sacrifice performed on special occasions, in which the individual or the community is faced with an extraordinary situation, either of a joyous or a disastrous kind). Unmixed wine is very uncommon

and seems to have been rather the exception than the rule also in the sacrificial practice.

45 W. Burkert, *Homo necans. Interpretationen altgriechischer Opferriten und Mythen*, Berlin/New York, 1972, p. 66; *id.*, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, Stuttgart, 1977, p. 377.

46 High intensity rites are performed when the “normal” relation with the divinity is altered, for instance, when disasters and misfortune persuade the faithful that there is something wrong with this relation. These special situations demand special actions (G. Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the early Hellenistic Periods*, Liège, 2002 (Kernos, Suppl. 12), p. 325-330). On the importance of visible physical displays in such rituals, see also M. Kitts, *l.c.* (n. 1), p. 30-31.

47 For the analysis of this passage see Giorgieri, *l.c.* (n. 1), p. 426-427. For the similarities with oriental rites of the Near East and other similar, Homeric and non-Homeric oath-rites refer to Giorgieri, *l.c.* (n. 1) and Faraone, *l.c.* (n. 1), p. 60-80.

48 See Kirk, *o.c.* (n. 32), p. 308. The inexorable fulfilment of the curse is explicitly evoked, upon the breaking of the pact, by Agamemnon: “it was for your death that I swore this solemn oath, stationing you alone before the Achaeans to do battle with the Trojans, since the Trojans have thus struck you, and trodden under foot the oaths of faith. Yet in no way is an oath of no effect and the blood of lambs and the drinking offerings of unmixed wine and the handclaps in which we put our trust” (Hom., *Il.* IV, 155-159).

49 Hom., *Il.* XIX, 249-268: ... ἄν δ’ Ἀγαμέμνων | ἵστατο• Ταλθύβιος δὲ θεῶ
ἐναλίγκιος αὐδὴν | κάρπον ἔχων ἐν χειρὶ παρίστατο ποιμένι λαῶν. |
Ἀτρεΐδης δὲ ἐρυσσάμενος χεῖρεσσι μάχαιραν, | ἥ οἱ πὰρ ξίφεος μέγα
κουλεὸν αἰὲν ἄωρτο, | κάρπου ἀπὸ τρίχας ἀρξάμενος, Διὶ χεῖρας ἀνασχών |
εὐχετο• τοὶ δ’ ἄρα πάντες ἐπ’ αὐτόφιν ἦατο σιγῇ | Ἀργεῖοι κατὰ μοῖραν,
ἀκούοντες βασιλῆος. | εὐξάμενος δ’ ἄρα εἶπεν ἰδὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρύν• |
“ἵστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα, θεῶν ὕπατος καὶ ἄριστος, | Γῇ τε καὶ Ἥλιος καὶ
Ἐρινύες, αἱ θ’ ὑπὸ γαῖαν | ἀνθρώπους τίνυνται, ὅτις κ’ ἐπίορκον ὁμόσση, | μὴ
μὲν ἐγὼ κούρη Βρισηίδι χεῖρ’ ἐπένεικα, | οὗτ’ εὐνῆς πρόφασιν νεχρημένος
οὔτε τευ ἄλλου• | ἀλλ’ ἔμεν’ ἀπροτίμαστος ἐνὶ κλισίῃσιν ἐμῇσιν. | εἰ δέ τι
τῶνδ’ ἐπίορκον, ἐμοὶ θεοὶ ἄλγεα δοῖεν | πολλὰ μάλ’, ὅσσα διδοῦσιν, ὅτις σφ’
ἀλίτῃται ὁμόσσας.” | Ἥ καὶ ἀπὸ στόμαχον κάρπου τάμε νηλεῖ χαλκῷ. | τὸν
μὲν Ταλθύβιος πολλῆς ἁλὸς ἐς μέγα λαΐτμα | ῥίψ’ ἐπιδινήσας, βόσιν ἰχθύσιν.

50 Faraone, *l.c.* (n. 2), p. 75-76.

51 Hom., *Il.* IX, 131-134; 273-276.

52 Hom., *Il.* IX, 174-178. The tradition of drinking to seal an oath is not often encountered in Greek sources and, when it is found, usually refers to foreigners. Herodotus, for example, wrote that the Scyths swore by drinking a mixture of wine and blood after having dipped their weapons into it (Herodot., IV, 70). In the parody of the solemn oath in Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* (v. 185-186; 209-210), the women

swear on a krater full of wine and then drink from it. See Giorgieri, *L.c.* (n. 1), p. 433-435, who however, mentions neither the Homeric episode, nor that described in *Lysistrata*.

53 See Hom., *Il.* XIX, 196-197.

54 Hom., *Il.* II, 339-341 (transl. A.T. Murray): Πῆ δὴ συνθεσῖαι τε καὶ ὄρκια βήσεται ἡμῖν; | ἐν πυρὶ δὴ βουλαὶ τε γενοῖατο μήδεά τ' ἀνδρῶν | σπονδαὶ τ' ἄκηρητοι καὶ δεξιαὶ ἧς ἐπέπιθμεν.

55 Hom., *Il.* II, 344.

56 Hom., *Il.* VII, 406-412.

57 Hom., *Il.* I, 233-239.

58 Hom., *Il.* X, 328-332.

59 Hom., *Il.* XXIII, 439-441; 581-585.

60 Aubriot, *L.c.* (n. 1), p. 99.

61 Aubriot, *L.c.* (n. 1), p. 93.

62 Hom., *Il.* XIV, 271-280.

63 Also see Saladino, *L.c.* (n. 1), p. 105. See also S. Knippschild, “*Drum bietet zum Bunde die Hände*”. *Rechtssymbolische Akte in zwischenstaatlichen Beziehungen im orientalischen und griechisch-römischen Altertum*, Stuttgart, 2002, p. 29-39, 85-88.

64 Lyc., 1, 79.

65 Dem., 23, 67-68. (transl. J.H. Vince): Ἵστε δήπου τοῦθ' ἅπαντες, ὅτι ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ, οὗ δίδωσιν ὁ νόμος καὶ κελεύει τοῦ φόνου διαῖζεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν διομεῖται κατ' ἐξωλείας αὐτοῦ καὶ γένους καὶ οἰκίας ὃ τιν' αἰτιώμενος εἰργάσθαι τι τοιοῦτον· εἴτ' οὐδὲ τὸν τοχόντα τιν' ὄρκιον τοῦτον ποιήσει, ἀλλ' ὃν οὐδεὶς ὁμνυσιν ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου, ατὰς ἐπὶ τῶν τομίῳν κάπρου καὶ κριοῦ καὶ ταύρου.

66 Xenophon, *Anabasis* II, 2, 8; Plut., *Pyrrh.*, 6, 9; SV III, 545, 1. 9-10; SEG 26, 1306, 1. 55-56; Chaniotis, *o.c.* (n. 5), 6.

67 P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 80-85; M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I, München, 19673 [1941], p. 149.

68 Faraone, *L.c.* (n. 1), p. 65-72.

69 For a meticulous analysis of rites with butchered animals in Greece and the Near East, see Faraone, *L.c.* (n. 1), p. 65-72.

70 Dem., 23, 68.

71 Aeschines, 2, 87.

72 Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 55, 5; Pollux, VIII, 86.

73 For example, in an Athenian treaty from 465 BC concerning Erythrai (*IG* I3, 14; see also *IGT*, 76; SV II, n° 134) the oath is pronounced κατὰ [h]ιερών [χ]αιομένων or, according to a different interpretation, κατὰ [h]ιερών [χ]αιομένον; the victims must be “not less than oxen, or else ... shall be liable for a fine of 1000 drachmas”. See also Thuc, V, 47, 8 (defensive alliance among Argos, Athens, Mantinea and Elis). A sacrifice καθ' ἱερῶν τελείων can also be found in Andoc, 1, 97, in reference to the oath for the restoration of democracy in 410 and in Dem.,

59, 60.

74 Herodot., VI, 67-68. See also Antiphon, 5, 12 (ἀπτομένους τῶν σφαγίων)

75 Alcaeus, fr. 129 L.-P. (Transl. D.A. Campbell): ... ὥς ποτ' ἀπώμνυμεν | τόμοντες..
[.....]ν . . | μηδάμα μηδ' ἓνα τῶν ἐταίρων | ἀλλ' ἢ θάνοντες γὰρ ἐπιέμμενοι |
κεισεσθ' ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν οἰνδρῶν οἳ τότε' ἐπικ.. ην | ἤπειτα κακικτάνοντες
αὐτοῖς, | δᾶμον ὑπὲξ ἀχέων ρύεσθαι.

76IGT³, 14 (see also IGT, 76; SV II, 1962, 134).

77 Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes*, 43-53.

78 Euripides, *Suppliants*, 1189-1202.

79 Euripides, *Supp.*, 1205-1210.

80 Xen., *Anab.* II, 2, 8-9 (transl. C.L. Brownson): ταῦτα δὲ ὤμοσαν, σφάζαντες
ταῦρον καὶ λύκον καὶ κᾶπρον καὶ κριὸν εἰς ἀσπίδα, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνας
βάπτοντες ξίφος, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι λόγχην.

81Faraone, *Lc.* (n. 1), p. 67-68.

82I will not go into the complex issue on the authenticity of the text, which is
preserved on the so-called Acharnae Stele. See P. Siewert, *Der Eid von Plataiai*,
München, 1972, especially p. 5-8, 98-102.

83 Herodot., I, 165, 3.

84 Arist., *Ath. Pol.* 23, 5; Plut., *Arist.*, 25, 1. See also R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire*,
Oxford, 1972, p. 579-582 (Appendix 16); H. Jacobson, "The Oath of the Delian
League", *Philologus* 119 (1975), p. 256-258.

85 Hom., *Il.* XIX, 264-268. See also *supra*.

86Meiggs, *o.c.* (n. 84), p. 45-46; N.G.L. Hammond, *Studies in Greek History*, Oxford,
1973, p. 330. Against, Jacobson, *Lc.* (n. 84), p. 256-258, who first pointed out the
relations that can be seen between this type of oath and ritual dramatisation in
Near Eastern agreements; Faraone, *Lc.* (n. 1), p. 79.

87 Diodorus Siculus, IX, 10, 3; R.I. Winton, "The Oaths of the Delian League", *MH* 40
(1983), p. 125.

88SEG 9, 3: Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὄρκια ἐποιήσαντο οἳ τε αὐτεῖ μένον[τ]ες οἱ πλέοντες
οἰκίζοντες καὶ ἀρὰς ἐποιήσαντο τὸς ταῦτα παρβεῶντας καὶ μὴ ἐμμένοντας
ἢ τῶν ἐλλιβεῖν οἰκειόντων ἢ τῶν αὐτεῖ μενόντων. κηρίνος πλάσσαντες
κολοσὸς κατέκειον ἐπαρεῶμενοι πάντες συνενθόντες καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ
γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες καὶ παιδίσκαι· τὸμ μὴ ἐμμένοντα τούτοις τοῖς ὀρκίοις
ἀλλὰ παρβεῶντα καταλείβεσθαι νιν καὶ καταρρὲν ὥσπερ τὸς κολοσός, καὶ
αὐτὸν καὶ γόνον καὶ χρήματα. See also Meiggs, Lewis, *o.c.* (n. 6), 5, with
bibliography. The authenticity as well as the effective antiquity of the oath are the
subject of much debate. For recent interpretations see Faraone, *Lc.* (n. 1), p. 60-62
(with bibliography), P. Vannicelli, *Erodoto e la storia dell'alto e medio arcaismo (Sparta-
Tessaglia-Cirene)*, Roma, 1993, p. 131-139; Giorgieri, *Lc.* (n. 1), p. 422-425.

89 Transl. of the Greek text by A J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*,
Manchester, 1983 [1964], p. 224-226 (Appendix II).

90 For instance, S. Dušanić, "The ὄρκιον τῶν οἰκιστῆρων and Fourth-century

Cyrene”, *Chiron* 8 (1978), p. 55-76.

91 For the relation between the Cyrenean text and other ceremonies implying magic, see A.D. Nock, “A Curse from Cyrene”, *ARW2A* (1926), p. 172-173.

92 Faraone, *l.c.* (n. 1), p. 60-65. See also Giorgieri, *l.c.* (n. 1), p. 422-425.

93 See above.

94 Chaniotis, *o.c.* (n. 5), p. 67; D.J. Mosley, “Who Signed Treaties in Ancient Greece?”, *PCPhS* 7 (1961), p. 60-63.

95 Hom., *Il.* III, 297-301.

96 Aristoph., *Lysistrata*, 237: Νῆ Δία.

97 Dem., 7, 36.

98 On the low efficiency of oaths in international politics see R. Lonis, “La valeur du serment dans les accords internationaux en Grèce classique”, *DHA* VI, 4 (1980), p. 267-286.

99 Thuc, V, 30, 15-20 (Transl. Crawley).

100 Thuc, V, 47, 8 (defensive alliance among Argos, Athens, Mantinea and Elis). The text of the treaty is also conserved on an epigraph (with a few differences), see *IG I3* 83.

101 Thuc, V, 47, 8; V, 18, 9.

102 Thuc, V, 47, 10: ” The oath should be renewed by the Athenians going to Elis, Mantinea and Argos thirty days before the Olympic games; by the Argives, Mantineans and Eleians going to Athens ten days before the feast of the Great Panathenaea”; Thuc, V, 23, 4: “[the treaty] shall be renewed annually by the Lacedaemonians going to Athens for the Dionysia, and the Athenians to Lacedaemon for the Hyacinthia”.

103 Thuc, V, 47, 11; “The articles of the treaty, the oaths, and the alliance shall be inscribed on a stone pillar by the Athenians on the Acropolis, by the Argives in the Agora, in the temple of Apollo; by the Mantineans in the temple of Zeus, in the market place; and a bronze pillar shall be erected jointly by them at the Olympic games now at hand”; Thuc, V, 23, 5: “and a pillar shall be set up by either party; at Lacedaemon near the temple of Apollo at Amyclae and at Athens on the acropolis near the temple of Athena”; see also Thuc, V, 18, 10.

104 Thuc, V, 47, 9: “The oath shall be taken at Athens by the Boule and the magistrates, the Prytanes administering it; at Argos by the Boule, the Eighty and the Artynae, the Eighty administering it, etc.”. Sometimes the names of individual magistrates were written out in full as if they were signatures: for example, Thuc, V, 24, 1. In Thuc, V, 18, 9, a group of 17 citizens swears for each city.

105 Expressions such as: “having sworn upon the faith of the gods” or “unless the gods or the heroes stand in the way” (Thuc, V, 30, 3) show how religious formulas were considered a full part of the oaths, even if they were never fully transcribed.

106 Chaniotis, *o.c.* (n. 5), n° 2.

107 Chaniotis, *o.c.* (n. 5), n° 8.

108 Chaniotis, *o.c.* (n. 5), n° 10.

- 109**Chaniotis, o.c. (n. 5), n^{os} 26 (alliance-treaty between Hierapytna and Lyttos); 27 (alliance-treaty between Gortyn, Hierapytna, and Priansos); 60 (treaty of alliance and *isopoliteia* between Lyttos and Olus); 61 (treaty of friendship, alliance and *isopoliteia* between Lato and Olus).
- 110**Chaniotis, o.c. (n. 5), n^{os} 59; 74. See also the comments on p. 435-436.
- 111**Chaniotis, o.c. (n. 5), n^{os} 10; 16; 27; 74.
- 112**Chaniotis, o.c. (n. 5), n^{os} 42; 64.
- 113**Chaniotis, o.c. (n. 5), n^o 59; similar formulas can also be found in n^{os} 26; 33; 60; 61.
- 114**Chaniotis, o.c. (n. 5), n^{os} 6; 31; 60 C 2-4. This type of reference on stone inscriptions is quite rare as it belongs to the phase in which the treaty was negotiated and lost its value once the treaty had been concluded and written. Similar details only exist when the archival copy (which is different from the stone copy and mostly irremediably lost) has been published without any alterations. Also see Chaniotis, o.c. (n. 5), p. 77-81.
- 115**Chaniotis, o.c. (n. 5), n^o 6. The same animals (boar, ram and bull) recur in other oath-sacrifices: for example, in the case of the *homopoliteia*-treaty between Cos and Calymna (SV III, 545, 1. 9-10), in a *sympoliteia*-treaty between Teos and Kyrbissos (SEG 26, 1306, 1. 55-56) and in the oath between the Greeks and Persians described in Xen., *Anab.* II, 2, 8-9 (with the addition of a wolf). According to Demosthenes, the oath of the prosecutors at the Areopagos also entailed the sacrifice of a boar, a ram and a bull (Dem., 23, 67-68; see *supra*).
- 116**Chaniotis, o.c. (n. 5), p. 66-68, 124-125.
- 117**IC III, 4, 7 and 8. See also P.J. Perlman, "Invocatio and Imprecatio-. the Hymn to Greatest Kouros from Palaikastro and the Oath in Ancient Crete", *JHS* 115 (1995), p. 161-167.
- 118**IC III, 4, 8, 1. 8-9. See also Perlman, *l.c.* (n. 117), p. 161-167. Another example can be found in a Cretan civic oath from the 3rd or 2nd century BC from Dreros (IC I, 9, 1) that contains a long list of invoked divinities and many maledictions and blessings but proffers no indications of the ceremony itself.
- 119**Modern authors have not reached agreement on the meaning of πανάζωστοι. A. Brelich, *Paides e parthenoi*, Roma, 1969, p. 199-201, translates it as "completely naked". I prefer the interpretation of D.D. Leitaο, "The Perils of Leukippos: Initiatory Transvestism and Male Gender Ideology in the Ekdysia at Phaistos", *ClAnt* 14 (1995), p. 133, who, according to Hesych, translates it as "unarmed". In any case, it seems likely that, in this ceremony, the young new citizens, who had reached the final stage of their initiation into manhood, laid aside their boyhood garments before assuming their warrior costumes. See also R.F. Willetts, *Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete*, London, 1955, p. 120-123; Chaniotis, o.c. (n. 5), p. 197, especially n. 1185.
- 120**Chaniotis, o.c. (n. 5), n^o 11 (Malla and Lyttos); IC I, 9, 1 (Dreros, 1. 99-100); IC II, 5, 24 (Axos).

- 121 See Leिताο, *l.c.* (n. 119), p. 130-163.
- 122 Perlman, *l.c.* (n. 117), p. 161-167.
- 123 Chaniotis, *o.c.* (n. 5), n^{os} 11; 32; 50; 55; 61.
- 124 Aesch., 1, 114; Herodot., VI, 67-68. Also see the oath of the winner at the Palladion: “the one who wins his case must cut in pieces the sacrificial flesh” (τέμνοντα τὰ τόμια), Aesch., 2, 87 (transl. C D. Adams).
- 125 Antiph., 5, 12 (ἄπτομένους τῶν σφαγίων). Also see the oath of the prosecutor at the Aereopagus, in Dem., 23, 68.
- 126 Hom., *Il.* VII, 406-412.
- 127 Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes*, 42-48; Xen., *Anab.* II, 2, 8-9.
- 128 J. Rudhardt, *Notions fondamentales de la pensée religieuse et actes constitutifs du culte dans la Grèce classique*, Paris, 1992 [1958], p. 211.
- 129 Giorgieri, *l.c.* (n. 1), p. 426-427.
- 130 Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 1181-1188.
- 131 Eurip., *Medea*, 21-22.
- 132 Hom., *Il.* II, 337-341.
- 133 SV II, 163.
- 134 See Aubriot, *l.c.* (n. 1), p. 93-95; Knippschild, *o.c.* (n. 63), p. 29-39.
- 135 See Knippschild, *o.c.* (n. 63), p. 85-88, for the oaths sworn on the altar or touching the earth.
- 136 For example, Faraone, *l.c.* (n. 1), p. 78-79.
- 137 I do not intend to open here the question of the validity of such an evolutionary approach at all, which I find very simplistic.
- 138 The difference between the sources also clarifies, I believe, the differences between Greek and Near Eastern oaths – often used by modern authors as a comparison – for which we have a primary source, the original archival text preserved on tablets. On the other hand, secondary sources on oaths are extremely rare in the Near East.
- 139 IG I³, 14 (see also *IGT*, 76; SV II, 134); Thuc., V, 47, 8 (defensive alliance among Argos, Athens, Mantinea and Elis); Andoc., 1, 97 (oath for the restoration of democracy in 410).
- 140 Antiph., 5, 12 (ἄπτομένους τῶν σφαγίων); Dem., 59, 60.
- 141 Pollux, VIII, 105. For the text of this famous oath, refer to M.N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, II, Oxford, 1948, 204.
- 142 Dem., 59, 78. See also Isaeus, 2, 31-32.
- 143 Andoc., 1, 126-127.
- 144 SEG 26, 1306, 1. 55-56.
- 145 SV III, 545, 1. 2-3.
- 146 Thuc., V, 23, 4 (Dionysia in Athens, Hyakinthia in Sparta). Chaniotis, *o.c.* (n. 5), n ° 11 (feasts of Monnitia (?) in Malla and Pythia (?) in Lyttos), 50 (unknown feasts), 59 (feast of Hyperboia in Hierapitna and Theodaisia in Lato).
- 147 Hom., *Il.* III, 264-266; XIX, 172-177.

148 Priests are mentioned in Dem., 23, 68 (oath of the Areopagus).

149 Chaniotis, o.c. (n. 5), p. 67.

150 Mosley, l.c. (n. 94), p. 59-63, with examples from the 5th and 4th cent. BC.

Endnotes

* For epigraphical publications I use the following abbreviations:

IGT = R. Koerner, *Inscriptliche Gesetzestexte der frühen griechischen Polis*, Köln, 1993;
Nomima I-II = H. van Effenterre, F. Ruzé, *Nomima. Recueil d'inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l'archaïsme grec*, I-II, Paris/Roma, 1994-1995; SV II = H. Bengtson, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums. Zweiter Band. Von 700 bis 338 v. Chr.*, München, 1975; SV III = H.H. Schmitt, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums. Dritter Band. Von 338 bis 200 v. Chr.*, München, 1969; ICS = O. Masson, *Inscriptions Chypriotes Syllabiques*, Paris, 1961.

Rituals between Norms and Emotions: Rituals as Shared Experience and Memory

Angelos Chaniotis

1. An unforgettable procession and the emotional dimensions of rituals

1

A grave inscription found in Ithaca preserves no more than a name, and this not even complete.

1

Several readings have been suggested: Onpodoros, Arpodoros, and Karpodoros. None of them makes any sense. From the facsimile of G. Krüger we may infer that we are dealing with the name Ponpodoros (Πονπόδωρος),

2

which is unparalleled, but makes sense: the gift of the pompe. Names composed with *-doros* are so called theophoric names.

3

They express the belief that a divinity provided assistance for or during the birth of a child. Apollodoros, e.g., ‘the gift of Apollo’, commemorates either an oracle announcing the birth of a child

4

or a vow made by the parents. The child Ponpodoros was the gift of a procession, but in what sense? Comedies, novels, and poetry inform us time and again that a religious procession was one of the occasions on which women left the house and were struck by Eros or bad luck.

5

Ponpodoros may have been born during a procession, or a procession was the occasion on which his mother met the father, or had sexual intercourse with him, or was raped. This procession was hard to forget.

2

Rituals are emotionally loaded activities.

6

They often intensify emotions and pre-existing tensions among persons and groups. It occasionally occurred that festivals and other celebrations were disturbed by violent events, e.g., by the attempts to murder a statesman or by attacks against worshipers. Kylon attempted to occupy the Acropolis in Athens during the celebration of the Diasia (before 630 BC), the Peisistratid Hipparchos was murdered during the procession of the Panathenaia (514 BC), an attempt to murder the Karian dynast Maussolos occurred during a festival in the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos near Mylasa (355/4 BC), a group of religious fanatics in Sardeis attacked the worshipers of Artemis Ephesia during a procession (c. 340-320 BC), and it is not unlikely that the murders in the sanctuary of Alea in Tegea that are mentioned in an inscription occurred during a festival.

7

A new inscription from Kollyda in Lydia (AD 197/98) narrates an attack against a sanctuary during the celebration of a festival: people came together and, armed with swords, sticks, and stones, attacked the sacred slaves and smashed the statues of the gods.

8

3

Intense emotions were sometimes to be expected (e.g., in funerals) or were deliberate, e.g., in oaths, curses, and confessions.

9

For the understanding of rituals one needs to consider not only the norms that regulated them, but also the emotions of the participants and the tensions among them that threatened to undermine the rituals.

4

There also exist, of course, rituals, which are performed in isolation. One deposits alone a *defixio* in a grave during a night ceremony; one may pray alone; and under certain conditions a funerary ritual may be performed by a single person. And yet, even these rituals that are

performed in isolation – and for this reason will not be treated here – usually presuppose at least one other person: the hated opponent who is being cursed, the beloved person on behalf of whom one prays, the deceased relative to whom one brings an offering. Most rituals presuppose the co-existence or the confrontation of human beings who know, like, love, or hate one another.

5

That rituals contribute to the creation of an identity is often – and aptly -stressed; but beyond the identity of the group there exist the emotions of the individuals and the manifold tensions in interpersonal relations. Let us consider for a moment one of the most common rituals: the procession. A representative normative ritual text, a decree of the city Antioch on the Pyramos (c. 160 BC), gives the following instructions for the performance of a procession on the day of a commemorative festival:

10

On the day, on which the altar was founded, a procession as beautiful and glamorous as possible will be held every year, leading from the altar of the council to the sanctuary of Athena. The procession will be headed by the *demiourgos* (the highest official of the city) and the *pytaneis* (the members of the council). They will offer a sacrifice of a cow with gilded horns to Athena and to Homonoia (the Concord). The priests, all the other magistrates, the winners of the athletic contests, the supervisor of the gymnasium with all the ephebes and the young men, and the supervisor of the boys with all the boys, shall attend the procession. This day will be a holiday; all the citizens shall wear garlands.

6

This procession will unavoidably be attended by the elected magistrates and their defeated political opponents, by the victorious athletes and the losers, by the youngsters of the wealthy families, who were accepted into the elite institutions of the ephebeia and the gymnasium, and by the sons of the artisans. The procession, with its clear hierarchical structure, underscores and confirms social distinctions. There is no need to mention that this procession was also attended by the opponents in law-suits, by the debtor and the creditor, the cheated husband and his competitor, the young man in love and the beauty who ignores him. The tensions among these persons remain unmentioned. The text evokes harmony; after all the festival was dedicated to the goddess of concord. But at a closer look

we notice that the text evokes harmony precisely because it is aware of the danger of conflict:

...All shall be released from work, the slaves shall be released from chains. The magistrates and the winners of the contests shall gather in the sanctuary of Athena, all the other citizens will gather in groups according to the civic subdivisions (the tribes). The *hieromnemon* (a sacred official) and the presidents of the tribes will be responsible for order on this day...

7

All inhabitants are expected to attend, including the workers and the slaves. Envy caused because of social inequality should not undermine the celebration of concord. The citizens are to gather in small groups, in groups of people who know one another. And the explicit mention of measures for order shows that quarrels were to be expected.

8

Emotions and tensions – political, social, cultural, or sexual – can influence the performance of rituals. Every reader will affirm this, not on the basis of historical studies, but of personal experience. Who cannot recall a birthday party or a Christmas, Thanksgiving, Easter, Passover or whichever celebration, that turned into a stage for the explosion of emotions? This paper is concerned with the question of whether cult regulations, particularly of the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial period, took into consideration this universal experience.

2. The question: Do norms reflect emotions?

9

Rituals that were publicly performed are hardly ever described in our sources, even when – in fact, particularly when – they were regularly performed. Our reconstructions resemble jigsaw puzzles, with the notable difference that we do not have all the pieces and that we do not know how the picture that we are supposed to reconstruct looks like. And the problems do not end there. A description of or an allusion to the performance of a ritual on a particular occasion is not always reliable, since it does not necessarily distinguish between the norm and possible deviations. A variety of factors may indeed result

in deviations from the norm: particular social conditions or historical contexts, the joy of innovation or budgetary constraints, but also the emotions of the participants and the tensions among them. As a complex act of communication between performers, spectators, and addressees, the living and the dead, mortals and gods, the effect of rituals may differ from performance to performance.

10

The question hidden behind the vague title of my paper is quite simple: Did the norms that regulated the conduct of rituals take into consideration the emotions, which unavoidably underlie every individual performance of a ritual? Were rituals understood in the Greek world as an intense shared experience? And did the Greeks intend the performance of rituals to be an emotional experience of togetherness? And if this was indeed intended, how did the sacred regulations reflect the anxiety that emotions might disturb the performance of rituals, but also the efforts to restrain uncontrolled emotions and provoke desirable reactions, in particular the feeling of togetherness?

11

I introduce my discussion of these questions in an unorthodox way, by quoting fiction (§ 3). I shall then argue that rituals were remembered as an emotional experience for a long time after their performance and that this shows the strong emotional background of the performance of rituals (§ 4). The discussion of a particular detail in the performance of funerary rituals -the physical contact between mourners and the deceased – will serve as an example of how the demonstration of emotions communicated the close relationship between two persons, but also the feeling of togetherness with a group (§ 5). In light of literary sources, inscriptions, and the vocabulary of rituals I shall argue that rituals were often intended to be an experience of togetherness (§ 6). Finally, I shall conclude that it was for this reason that measures were taken in order to ensure the harmonious interaction among the participants and, ultimately, their undisturbed communication with the addressees of the rituals (§ 7).

3. Imagining the emotional context of rituals

'Use pious words!', exclaimed the bearded man, as he noticed the red solar disk approaching the ridge of the mountain. The last rays of the all-seeing god fell on the sharpened blade of the bronze knife, which the priest Tryphon was holding in his hand; the gilded nail-heads on the handle glistened for a last time, before Tryphon with a quick and skilful movement, betraying long experience, cut through the throat of the one-year-old sheep which two youths had raised above the altar. The blood stained their faces and their clothes, the knife's ivory handle, the priest's hands; the smell of the burning blood mixed with that of the incense, which Tryphon had taken from a small basket and thrown on the altar. Ariagne, a flutist, tuned a simple melody.

'Bring the sceptres, will you?', the priest hissed in the ear of Theodoros, the temple's servant; his annoyance was difficult to conceal. But Theodoros was busy observing how the well-formed breast of the flutist was moving under her peplos in harmony with the movement of her arms. Theodoros' wide tunic could barely hide the effect this elegant movement had upon him – an agitation that was not primarily of a religious nature. The priest's admonition reminded him of his duties. While he rushed to a small chamber by the temple, the priest gave the sign to an elderly woman to approach the altar. Tryphon gave her a silver jug, which he had filled with the blood of the sacrificial animal.

Even without his priestly crown one could easily recognize the fifty-years old, tall man with the well-groomed gray beard as the priest. He was wearing a golden ring decorated with a red stone; the purple stripes of his tunic had picked up the bloodstains of countless sacrifices. And his long hair, which reached his shoulders, would impress anyone. Carefully constructed wickerwork of hair locks covered the top of his baldhead.

Tryphon took the twelve sceptres, which Theodoros had brought, – simple wooden rods crowned with pines. He erected them one next to the other, placing their sharp bottom into the twelve holes dug behind the altar. Each time he erected a scepter, he raised his hands with the palms turned towards the setting sun and called with loud voice the name of a divinity. Great is Mother Philis!, 'Great is Zeus of the Twin Oakes!', Great is Mes Tiamoul!, 'Great is Mother Hiptal!', 'Great is Apollo of Axiotta!', 'Great is the Tarsian Mother!', 'Great is Artemis Anaitis!', 'Great is Zeus Orkama-nites!', 'Great is Mother Leto!' 'Great is the Sun, Apollo Labanas!'. Like an echo the assembled worshippers repeated the acclamations. The screaming of the frightened birds, which had built their nests in the sanctuary's grove mingled with the symphony of the hoarse voices of the men, the timid whispers of the children, and the shrill voices of the women. 'Great are the gods who rule over Koresal', the priest completed the invocations.

Everybody's eyes were now fixed on the old lady, who was standing on the uppermost step of the altar. Tatias was a middle-aged woman, but her face and body still revealed the radiant beauty of her lost youth. Her gray hair was plaited behind her head, held by an old-fashioned fillet – unlike the fashionable hair-dress of the imperial ladies, which was so often imitated by the wives of the provincial magnates. Tatias stood in front of the burning altar, her body unbent, straight like the cypresses that surrounded the precinct.

She then approached the altar paying attention not to stain her white garment with blood. Using the silver goblet in which the priest had collected the blood of the sacrificial animal she poured the blood on the altar. The whispers of several women among the assembled worshippers did not remain unnoticed. With a proud look, full of contempt for them, she raised her hands and recited aloud the dreadful words of the curse, reading them from a wooden tablet. "Great gods and you, all-observing Sun, the twelve sceptres I erect against all those who accuse me of poisoning my own son-in-law, Jucundus, for with this accusation they are doing me wrong." "Look at her," a woman in the crowd whispered, "how she can read; how can she claim she knows nothing of poisons and witchcraft?"

Tatias continued her cursing with louder and angrier voice. "I curse them all. If their accusations are wrong, let them and all their descendants perish in the worst manner; let their children become orphans, let their house be widowed; neither on sea nor on land shall they be able to travel; neither their women nor their animals shall give birth according to nature; the anger of the twelve scepters shall fall on them, on their family, on their livestock, on their property. But should their accusations be just, then let this curse fall upon me. Exactly as this blood is being poured, my own blood shall flow. For this affair and against this slander I have set up the twelve sceptres."

As she uttered the last words she tried to discover in the crowd her neighbour Syntyche, who was spreading these rumours. After she had finished reciting the text of the curse Tatias descended from the altar and entered the temple followed by the priest. She held in her hands the pittakion, a small white-painted wooden tablet, on which she had written with red paint the text of the curse. In the shrine, she deposited the pittakion on the marble table in front of Mes' statue. On the following morning the attendant would fix the tablet with bronze nails on a large wooden panel in front of the temple, for everyone to see.

12

These lines are pure fiction, inspired by an inscription from Kula in Lydia (AD 156/157).

11

This narrative is based on a fundamental aspect of the performance of rituals that neither ancient descriptions of rituals nor modern studies usually treat: the participants in rituals, either as performers or as audience, are human beings, not free of emotions and experiences, human beings such as the lascivious temple servant, the arrogant priest, or the victim of gossip.

4. The memory of a ritual: Herodes Atticus, Polydeukion, Nemesis, and the reader

Herodes Atticus is remembered as the most successful orator of the early second century AD, as the wealthiest man in Athens, great benefactor and constructor of buildings; for the epigrapher, Herodes Atticus is also remembered for the many inscriptions he set up in Attica.

12

One of these texts was found in the sanctuary of Nemesis in Rhamnous; it is inscribed on the base of one of the many statues that Herodes Atticus erected to honour his deceased foster child Polydeukion (c. 148-150 AD).

13

Herodes explains the choice of this particular sanctuary for his dedication:

To the goddess Nemesis, to whom he used to sacrifice together with him (sc. Polydeukion) (τῇ Νεμεί[σει], ἣ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔθυεν).

14

The erection of a statue is the outcome of a chain of considerations, the choice of one among many alternatives concerning the place, the form of representation, and the commemorative text. The choice of this particular place was connected with the memory of Polydeukion; Herodes did not remember only the person of Polydeukion, but also a ritual activity that he used to perform in this particular place (ἔθυεν, not ἔθυσεν) with this particular person.

14

15

This short text with its affectionate language (“he loved him like his own son”, “the well-disposed”, “the one who will be remembered for ever”) implies various forms of communication: between Herodes, as a dedicator, and the goddess Nemesis; between Herodes and his deceased friend; between Herodes and the Athenian council and assembly who approved of the dedication; and between Herodes and the future reader of this text. We may be certain that the sacrifices of Herodes and Polydeukion were accompanied by prayers. The prayers expressed expectations, which, here, remain unmentioned. Not the ritual of sacrifice, but the requests, hopes, and expectations of the performers constitute the nucleus of Herodes’ memory. We can only speculate about their content. Nemesis is the goddess of punishment, retribution, and justice. Had Herodes and Polydeukion jointly

sacrificed in order to achieve justice – or to put it in plain terms, to take revenge upon an enemy? J. Tobin has convincingly argued that the numerous curse inscriptions set up by the sophist in Attica may be his response to threats made against Herodes and his foster children.

15

Conceivably, Herodes' and Polydeukion's visits, prayers, and sacrifices in the sanctuary of the goddess of retribution are to be seen in the context of conflict. The commemoration of the rituals in the sanctuary of Nemesis presupposes emotions which Herodes and Polydeukion had felt, emotions which are alluded to, but remain unrevealed: anger, hope, fear, vindictiveness.

16

Evidence for the fact that the performance of a ritual was remembered abounds. In particular, numerous honorary decrees for cult personnel and benefactors stress the fact that the celebrations (sacrifices, processions, ritual meals, etc.) they had prepared excelled in luxury and size, in the aesthetic pleasure they gave to the participants, or in the impression they left upon visitors.

16

In some cases they praise the fact that a neglected and forgotten ritual was reintroduced.

17

Herodes' dedication differs from such texts, since it provides evidence for the remembrance of emotionally loaded rituals – it finds closer parallels in the literary sources. Among the numerous allusions to interpersonal tensions during the performance of a ritual in Hellenistic and later literary sources, I only mention the (perhaps best known) example of Theocritus' *Second Idyll*.

18

During the performance of a ritual, a magical ritual aiming at bringing back her lost lover (Daphnis), Simaitha recalls another ritual, the procession in honor of Artemis, during which she for the first time encountered Daphnis (lines 64-86, transl. A.S.F. Gow, modified):

Now that I am alone, from what points shall I lament my love? Whence shall I begin? Who brought this curse upon me? Eubulos' daughter, our Anaxo, went as basket-bearer to the grove of Artemis, and in honour of the goddess many wild beasts were brought to the procession that day about her, and among them a lioness ... And

Theumaridas' Thracian nurse, now dead and gone, that dwelt at my door, had begged and besought me to come and see the procession. And I, unhappy wretch, went with her, wearing a fair long linen dress, and Clearista's fine wrap over it ... And when I was come already midway on the road, where Lykon's is, I saw Delphis and Eudamippos walking together. More golden than helichryse were their beards, and their chests brighter far than thou, O Moon, for they had lately left the manly labour of the gymnasium. ... I saw, and madness seized me, and my hapless heart was aflame. My looks faded away. No eyes had I thereafter for the procession, nor know how I came home again, but some parching fever shook me, and ten days and ten nights I lay upon my bed.

17

Here, the emotions of Simaitha frame the magical ritual she performs, and vice versa, her ambiguous emotions are framed by two rituals, the memory of the procession and the curse ceremony she performs. We also observe that Simaitha's attention is distracted from the procession precisely because of her emotions.

5. Memories of funerals: touching the dead, demonstrating affiliation

18

Hardly any other ritual is as emotionally loaded as the burial of the dead. It is, therefore, not surprising if references to the remembrance of the funerary rituals for a particular person abound in the textual evidence.

19

Here, I should like to discuss a rather neglected aspect of emotionality during burials: the memory of the fact that a mourner touched the corpse in order to express in a direct, intense, and physical way his close relation to the deceased.

20

19

Because of the expected emotionality, but also in view of a tendency to theatrical excesses, Greek funerary rituals were often the object of normative regulations.

21

The relevant documents inform us how a funeral *was to be* performed. But if we want to find out how a funeral *was* performed, then we have

to turn to the funerary epigrams which often tell us which aspect had been stressed during the particular performance of the ritual. What these texts are interested in is not the general norms, but the individual performance.

20

The authors of many epigrams (and non-metrical epitaphs) underline the personal involvement of close relatives or friends in the funerary ceremony, *e.g.*, through the offering of a crown to the deceased person,

22

or by assembling the bones and the ashes, or by constructing the grave monument.

23

The epigrams of the Imperial period that explicitly remind us that the deceased person had been buried by the hands of a close relative or friend are less common. By implying a physical contact between the dead and the mourner they demonstrate an intimate relation and the belonging to the close circle of the family.

21

A first example of the remembrance of the physical contact between mourner and deceased is the funerary epigram of a woman at Ioulioupolis (Imperial period). Apphe, the deceased woman, addresses the passer-by: “Catulla, the mother who gave birth to me, has also embalmed me.”

24

The offering of the last service through personal involvement of the mourner’s own hands is expressed in the grave epigram for a soldier at Tieion (Imperial period):

25

“After a man, who bears the same name as I do, had prepared me as if I were still alive and had let me go into Hades, he honored – .” The rest of the epigram is not preserved, except for the beginning of the word *adelph*[--] (“brother”). The relationship of the dead soldier to the man who buried him is not known, but the offering of this last service made the mourner into the deceased person’s brother.

22

We find an explicit reference to physical contact and the use of one’s own hands in the epigram for Deidas in Miletoupolis (1st century AD):

26

“I, the fortunate old man Deidas, who has lived in piety, I am being buried by my alumnus Salbanas, with his own hands (*en palamais*) in accordance with the pious custom.”

27

The dead man declares his contentedness over having been buried by the hands of his own alumnus and no other. The undying voice which the stone gives to the dead evokes not simply the orderly performance of the ritual, but also the employment of Salbanas' hands, i.e., the last physical contact between the deceased and a beloved person.

28

Another epigram, this time from Nikaia (3rd century AD), reads:

29

“I, the noble Secundus, live here, buried by my father's hands (*chersi kedeutheis*).” According to the epigram for Kriton of Smyrna (3rd century BC) “his children's hands have buried him according to the custom.”

30

Halmyrion in Pompeiupolis (Imperial period) announces from his grave:

31

“I have been buried by the hands of my beloved children.” On a sarcophagus at Aphrodisias (4th century AD) we read:

32

“(He lies) away from the foes, buried by the hands of his friends.”

23

Grave inscriptions very often testify to the fact that a person has been laid to rest under the care of family members, using in a very general manner the verbs ἔθαψεν/ἔθαψαν et sim.

33

But the texts quoted above differ from this general practice through the conscious reference to the employment of a relative's or friend's hands, hence to the physical contact. The aforementioned references to the last physical contact are not very numerous and they are always formulated in different ways; therefore, they do not belong to the epigrammatic commonplaces.

24

To underline this particular element of the funerary ritual represents the individual choice of the poets (or their clients). This is significant for four reasons: First, it alludes to the respect for a tradition

neglected by others; second, this is the *final* physical contact between the two persons; third, this contact demonstrates the close relation between the mourner and the deceased person, the fact that they belong to the same family, in a legal or symbolical sense; and fourth, the overcoming of the fear of pollution through physical contact with the corpse attributes to these dead an extraordinary status. I should briefly comment on those four aspects.

25

First, in two of the epigrams it is either explicitly stated or implied that the performance of the burial by the hands of family members corresponds to the traditional custom (*themis*).

34

This explicit reference to the fact that a family respected a tradition implies that others did not. The epigrams which stress the fact that it was the family that personally performed the burial may well be a criticism against the employment of professionals in the treatment of the dead.

26

Second, the physical contact with the deceased person is the last possibility for the living to manifest close emotional bonds by touching the dead before he departs for the kingdom of the shades, retaining a visual presence only through memories, images, and dreams. This feeling, which is visualised in the *dexiosis* scenes of grave reliefs, is also expressed in the epigram for the jurist Konon from Kolybrassos, who died in Thebes in Egypt (3rd/4th century AD).

35

His father travelled to Egypt in order to bring the corpse back home: “there came the father from far away and caressed me with his hand, as he saw me lying dead in a foreign place.”

27

The third aspect is, I think, more significant. Physical contact with a dead body causes defilement, and this belief in a *miasma*, a ritual impurity originating from the corpse, remained alive until Late Antiquity.

36

Normative interventions time and again aimed at defining and limiting the circle of mourners – of women in particular – and, consequently, of those who had polluted themselves through contact with the dead (see note 21). Often only the closest relatives were

allowed to attend the funeral.

37

The physical contact with the dead does not only mean the overcoming of the fear of pollution, because of the extraordinary status of the dead (see *infra*), it also manifests the sense of belonging to the closest circle of the family – and this is what the aforementioned texts unequivocally stress. A characteristic example for this old concept, that burial is the personal duty of the next of kin, can be found in the epitaph of Eusebie and Philippos. Both died in different places away from home and they were buried separately. Their remains were brought home by their nephew Diomedes (Namara, 2nd/3rd century AD):

38

“Diomedes has assembled the remains of those who have died long time ago, his uncle and his aunt who had raised him, bringing them from here and there and burying them near the ancestors, under the arch of this ultimate house.” What the epigram places in the foreground is not that Diomedes was any relative of the deceased couple, but the fact that the aunt and the uncle had raised him and had treated him as if he were their own child. The personal service offered by Diomedes is demonstratively assimilated to the service offered by a son to his parents.

28

Finally, the fourth aspect deserves particular attention. If the fear of pollution was overcome in these cases, it was not only because of the affectionate relation between the mourner and the deceased, but also because the touching of the deceased person indicated his extraordinary status. In general, the touching of objects of reverence is occasionally mentioned in the context of the performance of rituals. The sacred regulation of a cult association in Philadelpheia, e.g., obliged the members to assert ritual purity by taking an oath;

39

during the oath ceremony, the *mystai* of the association touched with their hand the stone inscription with the sacred regulation. Directly connected with the funerary practices and our context is a report of Plutarch on the annual celebration of the battle of Plataia:

40

On the sixteenth of the month Maimakterion, which corresponds to the Boiotian month AJalkomenios, they held a procession, which is led

forth, at break of day, by a trumpeter who sounds the signal for battle; wagons filled with myrtle and wreaths follow, then a black bull, then free-borne youths who carry libations of wine and milk in jars and pitchers of oil and myrrh; for no slave is permitted to assist in this service, since the men had died for freedom; and at the end comes the chief magistrate of the Plataians, who may not at other times touch iron or dress himself with any other garment than white, but on this occasion wears a purple tunic, carries a water-jar from the city's archive, and marches, sword in hand, through the city to the graves. Then he takes water from the spring, washes with his own hands the stelae and anoints them with myrrh; then he slaughters the bull at the pyre and praying to Zeus and Hermes Chthonios he invites the brave men who died for Greece to come to the banquet and the offerings of blood. Then he mixes a mixer of wine and makes a libation saying: 'I drink to the men who died for the freedom of the Greeks'. The Plataians observe these rites down to this very day.

29

The behaviour on this particular day is characterised by a series of reversals of normality, which are often observed especially when the dead are believed to come to this world (e.g. during the Anthesteria):

41

the archon wears a purple tunic and carries a sword, breaking taboos connected with his office;

42

the slaves are not serving; the stelae are not washed by women or servants, but by the archon. Again, if Plutarch explicitly points out the fact that the archon washed the graves of the war dead "with his own hands" -where it would have sufficed to write that he "washed" the stelae -, this cannot be a coincidence. It underlines the extraordinary status of these dead, this day, this service.

30

These observations allow us to fully understand the significance of a small group of texts that refer to burials with the participation of the entire community. These sources have recently been the object of a penetrating analysis by Christopher Jones:

43

they report that a private funerary ceremony, organised and performed by a family, was interrupted by a demonstration of the masses and was transformed into a public ritual with the participation of the entire community. In one case this seems to have occurred against the family's wish.

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In all these cases, the physical contact with the corpse played an important part. The sources repeatedly report that the assembled masses seized and carried away (ἀρπάζειν) the corpse. As I shall argue, this demonstrative seizure of the body from the circle of the family aimed at stressing the extraordinary status of this person (heroisation) and at presenting the entire community as family of the deceased.

31

The earliest testimony concerns the burial of an anonymous woman in Knidos (late 1st or early 2nd century AD).

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She was a descendant of the benefactor Theopompos, who had achieved for his fatherland liberty and exemption from taxes. As the woman's death became known, "the people were shocked beyond measure because of her virtue and her reputation." A decree, which was passed, while the funerary ceremony was still in progress gives us a direct impression of the emotions: The people "assembled with great zeal in the theatre [lacuna], while her corpse was being carried out." In many Greek cities the theatre served as the place where the popular assembly met, but also as the place where the people spontaneously assembled on important occasions.

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We may suspect that the funeral procession passed near the theatre. "And after the people had seized her body, they unanimously demanded that they may bury her with the participation of the entire people, and manifested through acclamations her virtue, in order that she receive also after her death the appropriate honours."

32

The second testimony dates to the early 2nd century AD and concerns the funeral of Tatia Attalis in Aphrodisias:

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The relevant decree first praises the woman for her achievements and then states in the unfortunately very fragmentary concluding section: "Since she has now reached the end of her life, sooner than the destined time (*promoiros*), for this reason the city has publicly [lacuna], and everybody unanimously seized her corpse [lacuna]." Here, too, the people interrupted the family funeral and carried the corpse away in order to bury it in a public ceremony.

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The third testimony (not discussed by CP. Jones) is provided by Philostratus in his narrative of the funeral for Herodes Atticus in Athens.

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The burial which was being performed by his freedmen – his *familia* in the legal sense – in Marathon was interrupted by the Athenian ephebes, who marched from Athens to Marathon, “seized the body with their own hands” (χερσὶν ἄρπάσαντες), brought it back to Athens in procession, and buried it there, near the stadium which Herodes had donated. Philostratus reports that all the Athenians attended the funeral lamenting the death of their benefactor “like children who have lost a good father” (ὅσα παῖδες χρηστοῦ πατρὸς χηρεύσαντες).

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Christopher Jones has plausibly suggested that these public demonstrations did not simply express the grief about the loss of a benefactor, but also presented a conscious attempt to animate the elite for larger benefactions. There can be little doubt that Jones’ assumption is correct. These demonstrations fulfilled the same function as other forms of honouring benefactors (honorary decrees, honorary statues, acclamations, crowns, etc.). By demonstrating the people’s gratitude they encouraged other members of the elite to follow the benefactor’s model, and thus they were one of the strategies of persuasion in the communication between the elite and other social groups. But we should not overlook two essential features of these spontaneous reactions, which are either explicitly stated or at least alluded to in these testimonia. The first aspect is the extraordinary status, i.e., the heroisation of these persons; this is manifest in the fact that their burial took place within the city wall. Agreophon of Kaunos was buried in the gymnasium (note 44), Tatia Attalis in her grandfather’s monument in the city,

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Herodes Atticus in the stadium (note 48).

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The second aspect is that the immediate aim of these actions was to transform a family ritual into a public ritual. The participation of the entire community in the funeral, in other words the incorporation of the community into a family ritual, created the fiction of the

orphaned people. This is directly stated by Philostratus. This fiction of an intimate, indeed of a family relation between the people and the elite was in fact often manifested, precisely in this historical period, through the honorary titles of “the son of the people”, “the daughter of the people” etc., but also through consolatory decrees for deceased benefactors.

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This established a relationship of mutual care. In these cases a ritual was interrupted, in order to be intentionally transformed into a ritual of togetherness.

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Striking in these narratives is the remembrance of the ritual as shared experience, as an event that united the people in a joint, emotionally intense reaction – one notices the use of the words denoting unanimity in these testimonia –,

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but also as an event which overcame the social boundaries which separated the family of the deceased from the rest of the community, the elite from the people. The fact that these decrees concerning the participation of the entire people in the funeral were inscribed guaranteed that these rituals were not forgotten. The inscription preserved the memory of the unique event that had bound the entire community into a virtual family.

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The explicit mention of physical contact in the aforementioned texts cannot be coincidental. As already mentioned, neither the relevant epigrams nor the testimonia about the interruption of the funeral are numerous, and they consequently originate in the conscious effort to demonstrate a close association and affiliation with a deceased person.

6. Rituals as an intentionally shared experience

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The evidence, which has hitherto been discussed, concerns the memory of emotional, interpersonal contact during the performance of rituals. It shows that the Greeks were conscious of the emotional

power and the lasting impression of this experience. Was this effect intended?

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A very attentive observer of human behaviour, the Hellenistic poet Theocritus, treats in his 15th *Idyll* precisely this subject. The setting of the poem is the popular festival of Adonis, celebrated in Alexandria. In Theocritus' poem, Gorgo, who has heard that the queen has prepared something impressive for the festival, invites a friend of hers to join her in a visit to the palace, in order to "watch" (*thasomenai*) Adonis.

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These women attended the festival not just as participants but as the audience of a staged spectacle about which they will be able to talk later (line 25): "what you've seen you can talk about, when you've seen it and another hasn't". Then Theocritus' poem develops into an *ekphrasis*, the description of the things admired by the two friends. What is interesting in our context is both the wish of Gorgo to be accompanied by a friend and share with her the joy of the participation and the interaction between the two women, their dialogue while they admire the paraphernalia of the festival, the colourful clothes of the god, and the beauty of his image.

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The visit to a sanctuary is a ritual for which the worshippers need to fulfil certain purity regulations. Although the primary aim is the ritualised communication with a divinity, this can be combined with an aesthetic experience, which, again, is often shared experience. Herodas presents in his fourth mime the visit of two women in the sanctuary of Asklepios in Cos as a primarily aesthetic experience consisting of the observation of the works of art, which had been dedicated there. Similarly, Theocritus' second mime combines the ritual element of the attendance of a ritual (here a procession) with the aesthetic experience of *thea*, which a friend is invited to share (lines 66-72):

Eubulus' daughter, our Anaxo, went as basket-bearer to the grove of Artemis, and in honour of the goddess many wild beasts were brought to the procession that day about her, and among them a lioness ... And Theumaridas' Thracian nurse, now dead and gone, that dwelt at my door, had begged and besought me to come and see the procession.

Both Theocritus and Herodas based their poems on the observation that one should best perform and watch rituals not alone, but in the company of persons to whom one has an emotional link. This idea is also expressed, albeit in a paradoxical way, in the anecdote about the misanthrope Timon. One of the best-known rituals in ancient Athens was the drinking competition at the Anthesteria, the so-called Choes.

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This evening was traditionally regarded as an opportunity to invite friends. The host provided the crowns and aromatic substances, but unlike the usual practice of a Greek symposium, on this particular occasion the guests had to bring their own food and wine. Another violation of the rituals of the symposium was that slaves were allowed to attend and that the guests drank in silence. The Choes can, therefore, be understood as a reversal of the traditional norms. It is said that even Timon the Misanthrope once celebrated this festival with his only friend. The reversal in the case of the misanthrope was the very fact that he tolerated this elementary company. After the two men had drunk their wine in silence, the other man said to Timon: "What a nice party we are having!" "Yes", was the misanthrope's answer, "if only you weren't here."

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The man who had placed himself outside the norms of human company could not tolerate the presence of another man, not even during a ritual of reversal. What does the story tell us? Only a misanthrope can wish for what the other Greeks felt was an annoying violation of the norms of the symposium. The silence, the isolation, the lack of prayers, libations, and toasts for well being, friendship, love, and success, all this corresponded to the normality of the misanthrope. For the normal Greek, ritual and celebration mean togetherness.

These literary testimonia reflect in my opinion how much the Greeks valued the feeling of togetherness in the performance of rituals, as an experience that needed to be shared with others. This is also indirectly reflected by the fact that the darkest of rituals, cursing, had to be performed in isolation.

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We have seen that whereas the joint performance of a ritual, be it a

libation and a sacrifice (§ 3), be it the attendance of a festival or the visit of a sanctuary (Theocritus, Herodas), be it the ritual of the symposium (Choes), was remembered, the lack of togetherness could be missed or criticized. In the light of this evidence we may understand the cultural context of a particular aspect of Greek religious vocabulary, namely the countless composita with the preposition *syn*, which express the fact that a ritual was not simply celebrated, but celebrated with others. Naturally, such composita abound in the vocabulary of cult associations, the purpose of which was according to Aristotle the joint performance of sacrifices and social intercourse,

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e.g., with regard both to the designation of the associations (συναγωγή, σύνοδος, συνθιασῶται, συνμύσται etc.)

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and to the performance of rituals. The worshippers of Sarapis in a cult association in Thessalonike designated themselves as “those who jointly revere the bed of the great god Sarapis” (οἱ συνθρησκευτὰὶ κλείνης θεοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος).

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The names of other associations stressed the joint pilgrimage to sanctuaries. An unpublished Hellenistic inscription from the sanctuary of Hermes Kedrites in Simi Viannou (Crete) records the association of the συνοδοιποροῦντες, “those who marched together” to the barely accessible sanctuary on the Sacred Mountain (Hieron Oros),

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and a contemporary inscription in Antimacheia in Cos was set up by the association of “those who walk together” to the sanctuary of Zeus Hyetios (κοινὸν τῶν συμπορευομένων παρὰ Δία Ὑέτιον).

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Theoretically, any word designating a ritual action can build a composite word with *syn*, but some of these composita seem to particularly stress the joined performance or attendance of rituals. This is, e.g., the case with the usage of συνθύω, συνθυσία, and συνθύτης (joint offering of a sacrifice),

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συνυμνέω (joint others in the singing of hymns),

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συνυσεβέω (participate in or lead a procession with others),

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and συνευσεβέω (piously honour the god together with others).

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The great significance of joined worship is also expressed by such terms as συνηλῖται, the designation of an association of worshipers of Theos Hypsistos

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, σύνμηνος, the designation of those who celebrated a monthly festival in Ephesos,

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and σύσηνος/σύνσηκνος, an originally military term designating the soldiers who shared the same tent, but also used in connection with worshippers.

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The healing miracles of Asklepios recorded in an inscription on the Insula Tiberina in Rome are a nice example of the value attributed to the shared experience of rituals.

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After his rescue, the worshipper was expected to come to the sanctuary and express his gratitude to the god in public (line 9: καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἡὐχαρίστησεν τῷ θεῷ; lines 13-14: καὶ ἐλθὼν δημοσίᾳ ἡὐχαρίστησεν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ δήμου; line 18: καὶ ἐλήλυθεν καὶ ἡὐχαρίστησεν δημοσίᾳ τῶν θεῶν), presumably through acclamations, praise, and thanksgiving dedications. The other worshippers in the sanctuary are presented as sharing the emotions of the rescued person and rejoicing with him (lines 4-5: τοῦ δήμου παρεστῶτος καὶ συνχαιρομένου; line 10: καὶ ὁ δῆμος συνεχάρη αὐτῷ).

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I conclude the selection of evidence for how much the Greeks esteemed the performance of a ritual as a transpersonal emotional experience which brought a community together with the funerary epigram for a magistrate (*prytanis*) in Kyzikos (late 2nd century BC).

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The epigram refers to Theodotos' mother who is mourning her son, "the prytanis who greatly rejoiced together with his fellow citizens during the libations." Here, it is not the performance of the ritual that is in the foreground, but the pleasure Theodotos felt while

experiencing this ritual together with his fellow citizens.

7. Control of emotional interaction during the performance of rituals

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The evidence, which has hitherto been discussed, concerns the memory of emotional, interpersonal contact during the performance of rituals; it shows that the Greeks were conscious of the emotional power and the lasting impression of this experience. Did this affect the norms, which regulated the performance of rituals?

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This may well be the case in the considerations behind normative interventions concerning burials.

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The paper of Manolis Skountakis in this volume shows that the demonstration of emotions during the performance of funerary rituals could indeed be the object of close observation and criticism, the control of emotions a reason for praise. The intense emotionality observed during the performance of funerary rites is explained by the role of interpersonal relations: the demonstration of emotions was addressed to the dead and usually watched by an audience. But what about the effect of interpersonal relations among the participants during the performance of other rituals? Were the Greeks aware of the danger that emotional, sexual, social, and other tensions might disturb the successful performance of a ritual and distract attention from it? Did sacred regulations aim at putting aside potential tensions and increasing the harmony among the participants in order to safeguard the successful performance of a ritual? Can emotionality help us understand the reasoning behind sacred law?

48

These questions are hard to answer, especially since we often have only cult regulations and not the reasoning behind them. And yet we can identify measures in cult regulations, which are closely related to the anxiety caused by the danger that a ritual might fail because of the tensions among the participants or other distractions.

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Documents referring to the organization of festivals often demonstrate the effort of civic communities to safeguard the celebration of the festival in an orderly manner. One of the most common measures is the celebration especially of the sacrifice and the banquet in small groups.

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We have seen an example already in Antioch on the Pyramos (§ 1). This is also the case, e.g., in Teos where the decree concerning the celebration of a festival in honour of King Antiochos III stipulates:

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Every symmoria (civic subdivision) should set up an altar for King Antiochos the Great and his sister, Queen Laodike, in its own place, next to the symmoria's altar, and should offer a sacrifice on this altar.

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But what about the foreign residents of Teos, who did not belong to a symmoria? The decree continues (lines 24-25):

Also the other inhabitants of our city should sacrifice and celebrate in their own dwellings as best they can.

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A sacred regulation of Bargylia concerning the festival of Artemis Kindyas (late 2nd/early 1st century BC) made every tribe responsible for raising a beautiful sacrificial animal. A beauty contest among the cows would determine the sequence of the tribes in the procession; the sacrifice and the banquet were to take place separately for each tribe.

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Some time later, the Bargylians observed (or were made to observe after protests) that this regulation discriminated against the foreign residents. A new decree gave also the metics the permission to raise their own cow and attend the sacrifice.

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When a wealthy citizen of Aphrodisias, Attalos Adrastos, provided the funds for a sacrificial installation and banqueting halls near the temple of Aphrodite, he made sure that the citizens were to celebrate divided into tribes:

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(I, Adrastos,) have promised to construct with my own money a sacrificial installation with banquet facilities and the buildings around it for the manifest, heavenly goddess Aphrodite, the one who embraces the entire citizen-body, and for the fatherland, in order that the council and the 200 first citizens and the gerosia and the rest of

the citizens divided according to their tribes receive banquets funded from the interest of the money for sacrifices, which I donated earlier to the goddess, during the stephanephorate of ---.

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Practical considerations easily explain such measures: in this way the sacrifice could be funded in a more expedient way through money allocated to or coming from the subdivisions; the competition among civic subdivisions for the biggest and most beautiful sacrificial animal increased the festival's glamour; the sacrificial meat could be distributed among the participants in an orderly way; the intrusion of strangers could be avoided. But beyond these practical reasons, the conception of the community of worshippers as a community of togetherness and conviviality must have been a significant factor.

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Many regulations concerning festivals include measures for orderly behaviour that stem from the fear that social and emotional tensions might undermine a celebration. The foundation document of the festival Demosthe-neia in Oinoanda, e.g., provides for a special police force: "The organiser of the festival should appoint twenty whip-bearers (*mastigophoroi*) who will go in front, dressed in white garments and without an undergarment, with shields and whips, and will take care of order during the events in the theater according to the instructions given to them by the agonothetes."

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One of the most important pieces of evidence for such measures concerns the rituals of a private cult association, the Athenian Iobakchoi, the worshipers of Dionysos.

77

A private cult association is by definition founded on interpersonal relations, on the accord among individuals, on their interest in conviviality – in a private association everybody knows everybody. An Athenian inscription of AD 178 preserves the protocol of a meeting of the association of the Iobakchoi, during which the statutes were approved (lines 1-31).

To good luck! When Arrios Epaphroditos was Archon, on the 8th day of the month Elaphebolion, the members were called to an assembly for the first time by Claudius Herodes, who has been appointed a priest by Aurelius Nikomachos, after the latter had served as a vice priest for 17 years and as priest for 23 years; he gave his office (to Herodes) still in

his lifetime, for order and for the glory of the association of Bakchos. Herodes (i.e., the new priest) has appointed Nikomachos (i.e. the retiring priest) vice priest. Nikomachos read out the statutes that had been introduced by the former priests Chrysippos and Dionysios. After the priest and the first Bakchos (i.e., one of the club's officers) had given their consent, the members exclaimed:

We want to have these statutes forever! – The priest has done a fine job! – These statutes should be introduced again! You deserve honour (σοὶ πρέπει)! – Strength (εὐστάθεια) and order (εὐνομία) in the club! – Write these statutes down on a stele! – Let us take a vote!

The priest proposed: – Since I, and my fellow priests and all of us are of the same opinion, we will put this to a vote, as you demand.

And the president of the assembly, Rufus, the son of Aphrodisios, put this issue to a vote: – Those who think that the statutes which were read out should be valid and should be written down on a stele may raise their hand.

All the members raised their hand. They called out: – Long lives our priest Herodes! – Now we are happy! Now our Bakchos Club is the first among all (Bakchic) clubs! – The vice priest has done a fine job! – Let the stele be made!

The vice priest said: The stele should be on the column, and the statutes will be engraved. The members of the board will vigorously make sure that nothing is cancelled.

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What follows is a text of more than 130 lines with very detailed rules. The importance of harmony in the club is stressed by the procedure of admittance – only worthy and suitable candidates would be accepted upon vote. Regular contribution of wine for the monthly celebrations was the most important requirement. The statutes are also preoccupied with the celebration of convivial gatherings on the ninth day of every month and on the festive days dedicated to Dionysos in peaceful and orderly meetings (lines 63-95):

No one is allowed to sing, to be loud or applaud in the dining room (*stibas*); the distribution (of wine) should take place in an orderly and quiet manner under the instructions of the priest or the chief Bakchos ... If someone starts a quarrel or does not behave properly or goes to another bed or insults someone or uses defamatory words, the victim of the insult or of the defamation should present as witnesses two members, who can declare under oath that they have heard how this person has been insulted and defamed; and the one who has insulted or defamed shall pay to the club 25 drachmas as a fine. And the one who has started a quarrel should pay the same amount of 25 drachmas; these persons are not allowed to attend the gathering of the Iobakchoi until they have paid the fine. And if someone reaches the point of striking others, the member who has been struck will

submit a written accusation to the priest or the vice priest, who is then obliged to call an assembly; and the Iobakchoi should pass a judgement upon vote under the guidance of the priest, and in addition to any other punishment they should determine the period during which the convict will not be allowed to attend the gatherings, and a fine of up to 25 denarii. And the person who has been beaten will be subject to the same punishment, if he publicly accuses him, instead of declaring the incident to the priest or the chief Bakchos. The person responsible for order who neglects to expel those who quarrel will be subject to the same punishment ...

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Admittedly, we are dealing with a particular situation. The club's primary aim was not the cult of Dionysus, but drinking together. But the preoccupation with harmony and the fear of conflicts that might undermine the group's cohesion apply *mutatis mutandis* to all groups of worshippers. It is interesting to note that the fines were not to be paid to the member who had been insulted or beaten, but to the club – the entire club was the victim of such actions that evidently had their roots in pre-existing tensions, which received additional input from wine consumption. There can be no doubt that the reform of the statutes of the association followed upon a crisis, although this is only alluded to in the protocol. The acclamation "Strength and order in the club!" presupposes the danger of falling apart and the lack of order. The acclamation "Now we are happy!" presupposes an earlier unhappiness, which has now come to an end. The acclamation "Now our Bakchos Club is the first of all clubs!" is directly related to the competition among the Dionysiac associations. And the remark that the priest Nikomachos gave up his office after 17 years (after 40 years in the leadership of the association) "for good order" (εἰς νόσμον)

78

suggests that such a long term in office was not approved by all the members. The problems of the association are revealed by the measures taken to solve them: the uncontrolled recruitment of new members; neglecting the donation of wine; explosions of emotions that lead to quarrels, insults, and even open violence during the regular meetings. We also notice the efforts of the club to keep these tensions unnoticed by others. We can be sure that such problems did not occur only in this Bakchic association. Another association made a dedication on behalf of the concord of the thiasos (Ὁμονοίας τοῦ θιάσου).

Another association (*eranos*), certainly not a Bakchic one this time, but dedicated to friendship and to the commemoration of the dead, was also threatened by quarrel and disorder (lines 40-41: εἰ δέ τις μά | χας ἢ θορύβους κεινῶν φαίνοιτο). Moral virtues (lines 33-34: ἀ[γν]ὸς καὶ εὐσεβῆς καὶ ἀγ | α[θ]ός) were expected from the members.

8. The emotional background of normative texts and ritual dynamics in the Hellenistic and Imperial period

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The emotional background of rituals is one of the factors that explain why rituals are a dynamic phenomenon. Ritual actions cannot remain the same when their performers and spectators change. Even when the norms that determine ritual actions remain unchanged, the ritual as an interpersonal, emotional, shared experience and communication changes simply because of the fact that the experiences and emotions of its performers and their viewers differ. Paraphrasing the statement of a famous philosopher one might say that “one cannot celebrate the same ritual twice.”

59

In Classical studies, the discussion of rituals has primarily been the study of origins, the study of meanings, the study of unchangeable norms. Given the large number of cult regulations from the Hellenistic and Imperial periods we may study the dynamic of rituals and the changes in norms. One of the tools for understanding the changing norms is to take into consideration the emotional background of rituals. Ritual failure can be caused by many factors: a natural catastrophe, a war, the presence of an impure person, but also the emotional tensions among the participants. The effect of some of these factors can be reduced if measures are taken, and some of the measures taken by cult regulations may in fact be understood – perhaps not exclusively, but at least partially – as efforts to reduce this danger.

Let us take the example of regulations concerning ritual purity. It has been observed that an increasing number of sacred regulations demand not only purity of body, but also purity of mind.

81

M.W. Dickie has recently argued that the regulations against the presence of morally stained persons in sanctuaries are connected with the anxiety aroused by the imminent arrival of the god. Their background is the feeling that the god might take offence if he knew his sanctuary was desecrated by the presence of unworthy persons.

82

This hypothesis is plausible, but hard to prove, and I doubt whether it can be the only explanation for the development of the idea of moral impurity. But it is conceivable that the presence of suspected or known culprits would not only disturb the divinity whose epiphany was expected with anxiety, but would also annoy the other worshippers and distract their attention from the ritual. There is in fact a text (not considered by Dickie), which explicitly states that the presence of an impure person disturbs the performance of a mystery rite. It is the sacred regulation of a cult association at Philadelphiea (late 2nd/early 1st century BC).

83

A free woman is to be chaste and shall not know the bed of, nor have sexual intercourse with, another man except her own husband. But if she does have such knowledge, such a woman is not chaste, but defiled and full of endemic pollution, and unworthy to reverence this god whose holy things these are that have been set up. She is not to be present at the sacrifices, not to offend the purifications and cleansings, not to see the mysteries being performed.

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An adulteress, whose presence during the mysteries is felt to be the ultimate disturbance, is often in small communities the subject of gossip, and one wonders whether it was her ritual impurity alone or also the indignation she provoked among the other participants that explains this regulation.

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A comparable distraction, the presence of prostitutes, may have been perceived as a potential disturbance of religious processions in Thasos. A long inscription (c. 470-460 BC) concerns the upkeep of streets leading from and to the sanctuaries of Herakles and the

Already the first editor of the inscription, H. Duchene, suspected that the text might be seen against the background of regulations concerning processions that took place on these streets during one or more festivals. One of the most enigmatic clauses of the text (lines 30-35) contains prohibitions against climbing up on the roof of a particular group of buildings (“public houses”) and against women appearing in the windows of these houses.

A.J. Graham has ingeniously suggested that these prohibitions are associated with prostitution. More recently A. Henry has argued that the first prohibition against climbing up on the roof refers to men (pimps or male prostitutes) and the second to female prostitutes exhibiting themselves to customers (“no one shall go up onto the roof of *maisons publiques* in order to be seen, nor shall any woman show herself from the windows”). According to the same scholar, another clause stipulates that another section of the street should be free from dung and women; no woman should stand in front of a brothel and be exhibited for prostitution (lines 44-45: νόπρον μὴ ἐσβα | λλέτω μηδὲ προῖστάσθω).

Although one is tempted to explain the interest of this regulation in prostitution as an awareness of the distraction it might cause to the solemn performance of processions, this is far from certain.

63

We are on safe grounds when we examine the long regulation concerning order during the performance of the mysteries of Andania (traditionally dated to 92 BC).

Already the oath of the sacred officials (*hieroi*) obliges them to safeguard the solemn performance of the mysteries (lines 3-4: ὅπως γίνηται τὰ κατὰ τὰν τελετὰν | θεοπρεπῶς) and defines the dangers: violations of law and decorum (line 4: μηθὲν ἄσχημον μηδὲ ἄδιον). What would provoke excitement and disturb the mysteries becomes clear when one reads the clothing regulations concerning women: expensive garments with extravagant decoration (lines 15-26), in particular see-through clothes (line 16: μὴ διαφανῆ), jewels (line 22: χρυσία), and make-up (line 22: ψιμίθιον) were

prohibited. These clauses are a combination of old religious taboos

88

and pragmatic considerations about factors that might distract attention from the solemnity of the rites. The presence of valuables might attract thieves (*cf.* lines 75-78), and the value of objects (bed- and silverware) kept in the tents was consequently limited to 300 drachmas (line 38). Those who misbehaved during the performance of the sacrifices and the mysteries

89

by paying no attention to the orders, by not using pious language and violating the rule of ritual silence (*euphemia*),

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or by not behaving according to decorum, were to be flagellated and removed from the sacred place (lines 39-45).

64

It is equally tempting to consider the measures taken in order to limit the circle of the participants in rituals, by excluding, e.g., stained persons, foreigners, and other outsiders, as aiming at increasing the unity of the worshippers and banning potential excitements and conflicts: stained persons are often parties to a conflict;

91

foreigners distract the attention, do not know how to behave, and often ask silly questions as an anecdote makes clear:

92

The Boiotians sacrifice to the gods those eels of the Kopaic Lake which are of surpassing size, putting wreaths on them, saying prayers over them, and casting barley-corns on them as on any other sacrificial victim; and to the foreigner who was utterly puzzled at the strangeness of this custom and asked the reason, the Boiotian declared that he knew one answer, and he would reply that one should observe ancestral customs, and it was not his business to justify them to other men.

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The Boiotian was of course right. Such archaic rituals continued to be practiced without any justification – they did not have a meaning, but they had a function.

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But new regulations had to be explained and justified in the assembly.

94

They reflect negative experience in connection with the performance of rituals. It is for them, for the new cult regulations, that scholarship

should consider more than in the past the possibility that an awareness of the emotional background of rituals was a factor just as important as the respect towards traditions.

Notes

1 IG IX² 1.4, 1638.

2 Already suggested by H. von Prott, “Neue Inschriften aus Ithaka”, *MDAI(A)* 27 (1902), p. 377, n° 62 on the basis of this facsimile; cf. my comments in *SEC* 51, 663.

3 R. Parker, “Theophoric Names and the History of Greek Religion”, in S. Hornblower, E. Matthews (eds), *Greek Personal Names. Their Value as Evidence*, Oxford, 2000, p. 53-79.

4 Cf. R. Parker, *l. c.* (n. 3), p. 63, with regard to *F. Delphes* III. 1, 560; a child born in accordance with an oracle of Apollo was given the name Delphis.

5 Rape of women during festivals: e.g., Menander, *Epitrepontes*, 234-237; Ps.-Heracl., *epist.*, VII (ed. Attridge). Love at first sight during a festival: see *infra* on Theocritus’ *Second Idyll*.

6 S. Gödde, “Emotionale Verschiebungen. Zur Bedeutung der *euphemia* im griechischen Ritual”, in A. Knepp, D. Metzler (eds), *Die emotionale Dimension antiker Religiosität*, Münster, 2003, p. 21-46 (with further bibliography).

7 Kylon: Thucydides, I, 126, 6; Hipparchos: Thuc, I, 20, 2; Maussolos: *I. Mylasa* 3; Sardeis: *I. Ephesos* 2; *SEG* 36, 1011; Alea: *IG V.2*, 262 = L. Dubois, *Recherches sur le dialecte arcadien*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1986, ii, p. 94-111; G. ThÜR, H. Taeuber, *Prozessrechtliche Inschriften der griechischen Poleis. Arkadien*, Vienna, 1994 (*SB Akad. Wien*, 607), p. 75-98 n° 8; A. Chaniotis, “Conflicting Authorities: Greek Asyilia between Secular and Divine Law in the Classical and Hellenistic Poleis”, *Kernos* 9 (1996), p. 75-77; G. ThÜR, “Gerichtliche Kontrolle des Asylanspruchs”, in M. Dreher (ed.), *Das antike Asyl. Kultische Grundlagen, rechtliche Ausgestaltung und politische Funktion*, Cologne, 2003, p. 29-30. For further examples see A. Chaniotis, “Gedenktage der Griechen: Ihre Bedeutung für das Geschichtsbewußtsein griechischer Poleis”, in J. Assmann (ed.), *Das Fest und das Heilige. Religiöse Kontrapunkte zur Alltagswelt*, Gütersloh, 1991, p. 136.

8 P. Herrmann, H. Malay, *New Documents from Lydia*, Vienna, 2006 (forthcoming), n° 83.

9 For emotional language in curse inscriptions see H.S. Versnel, “Sachliche Sprache und emotionale Sprache in griechischen und römischen Fluch-Texten”, in Knepp – Metzler (eds), *o.c.* (n. 6), p. 87-116. For references to emotions (especially honor and

shame) in the confession inscriptions see A. Chaniotis, “Von Ehre, Schande und kleinen Verbrechen unter Nachbarn: Konfliktbewältigung und Götterjustiz in Gemeinden des antiken Anatolien”, in F.R. Pfetsch (ed.), *Konflikt*, Heidelberg, 2004, (*Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 48), p. 245-251, with further bibliography.

10LSAM 81. Cf. A. Chaniotis, “Sich selbst feiern? Die städtischen Feste des Hellenismus im Spannungsfeld zwischen Religion und Politik”, in P. Zanker, M. Wörle (eds), *Stadt und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus*, Munich, 1995, p. 156-160.

11 G. Petzl, *Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens*, Bonn, 1994 (EA, 22), p. 89-90, n° 69: “... Since Jucundus was struck by insanity and it was rumoured by everybody that he had been given a potion by his mother-in-law Tatias, Tatias set up a scepter and deposited imprecations in the temple, as defending herself against an imputation, although she was conscious (of her guilt). For this reason the gods exercised a punishment, which she did not escape. Similarly, her son Sokrates, when he was passing by the entrance which leads to the grove, having a sickle in his hands, with which one cuts down vines, the sickle fell on his foot and, thus, he died within a day (or: on the same day) suffering his punishment. The gods at Azitta are great! They demanded that the sceptre and the imprecations made in the temple be annulated; Sokrateia, Moschas, Jucundus, and Menekrates, the children of Jucundus and Moschion and grandchildren of Tatias, annulated this, atoning in every way to the gods. Having reported the power of the gods on a stele, we praise the gods from now on.” Recent commentaries: H.S. Versnel, “Writing Mortals and Reading Gods. Appeal to the Gods as a Strategy in Social Control”, in D. Cohen (ed.), *Law, Society, and Social Control*, Munich, 2002, p. 64-65; A. Chaniotis, “Under the Watchful Eyes of the Gods: Aspects of Divine Justice in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor”, in S. Colvin (ed.), *The Greco-Roman East. Politics, Culture, Society*, Cambridge, 2004 (*Yale Classical Studies*, 31), p. 11-13; *id.*, *l.c.* (n. 9), p. 245-246. My novel *The Last Confession* was presented as a lecture course in Heidelberg (winter term 2001/02).

12 J. Tobin, *Herodes Attikos and the City of Athens. Patronage and Conflict under the Antonines*, Amsterdam, 1997, p. 113-160.

13IG II² 3969; I.Rhannous 159: ψη[φισα]μένης τῆς ἐξ Α | [ρείου πάγ]ου βουλῆς καὶ | [τῆ]ς βουλῆ[ς τῶν] πενταν | [ο]σίων καὶ τοῦ δ[ήμου]ς Ἡρώδης Βιβούλλι | [ο]ν πολυδευκίωνα, ἱππέ[α] | [Ρ]ωμαίω, ὁ θρέψας καὶ φι | [λ]ήσας ὡς υἱόν, τῇ Νεμέ | [σει] ἧ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἔθευν, [εὖμ | ε]νῇ καὶ ἀμνηστον τὸν [τρό]φιμον; cf. Tobin, *o.c.* (n. 12), p. 278-280.

14 The memory of joint activities is also mentioned in other inscriptions set up by Herodes; see *IG II2* 3970 + 13190; 13194; 13201.

15 J. Tobin, “The Curse Inscriptions of Herodes Attikos”, in *XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina, Roma, 18-24 settembre 1997. Preatti*, Rome, 1999, p. 535-542; cf. *ead.*, *o.c.* (n. 12), p. 113-160.

16E.g., MAMA VIII, 492 B (honorary decree for the priestess Tata, Aphrodisias, late second/early third century AD): θύσασαν | παρ’ ὅλους τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑγῇ | ας τῶν Σεβαστῶν, ἐστίασασαν τὸν δῆμον | πλεονάκεις καὶ πανδήμοις

κατακλίσεσιν, | ἔν τε τοῖς θυμελικοῖς καὶ σιγνητικοῖς ἀγῶ | σιν τὰ
πρωτεύοντα ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἀκροά | ματα αὐτὴν τρώτως ἀγαγοῦσαν καὶ | ξασαν
τῇ πατρίδι, ὥς ἐπὶ δεῖξιν τῶν | ἀκροαμάτων συνελθεῖν καὶ συνεορτά | σαι
τὰς ἀστυγεινιῶσας πόλεις (“who offered sacrifices all the years for the health of
the emperors, who offered many times banquets to the people, seating the entire
people at tables, who brought for the first time for the thymelic and scenical
competitions the best plays in Asia and presented them to the fatherland, so that
for the presentation of the plays the neighbouring cities came and participated in
the festival”). Cf. *IGII2* 1315; 1329; *SEG* 35, 744, lines 17-39.

17E.g., *IG II²* 1338 (Athens, after 86 BC): Philemon, the *epimeletes* of the association of
Dionysiac artists, was honored for reestablishing the sacrifices in Eleusis, which had
been interrupted because of the Mithridatic War and the destruction of the
association’s altar (lines 10-14: ὦν ἐπισχ | [εθέντω]ν ἐπὶ ἔτη καὶ πλείονα καὶ τοῦ
βωμοῦ καὶ τοῦ τεμένους ἀναιρε | [θέντ]ος διὰ τὴν κοινὴν περίστασιν
Φιλήμων... | ...ἀνεκτ[ή]σα | [το τὰς πατρίους ταῖς θυσίας καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸς
θύσας...]). The decree, which was passed several years after this event, records not
only the details of the celebration (duration, sacrifices, libations, banquet, singing
of hymns), but also the emotional response of the association (line 20: [ῶ]ν
ἀσμένως οἱ τεχνῖται λαβόντες ἀνάμνησιν). For examples from the Imperial
period see the article by S. Hotz in this volume.

18 I have very much profited from the discussion of this text by I. Petrović, *Der Artemiskult in der hellenistischen Dichtung*, Leiden, 2006 (forthcoming, with further bibliography); see also A. Duncan, “Spellbinding Performance: Poet as Witch in Theocritus’ Second Idyll and Apollonius’ Argonautica”, *Helios* 28 (2001), p. 43-56.

19 The detailed descriptions of burials in the literary sources, naturally, concern
the burial of important persons, e.g., Dionysios I of Syracuse (Philistos, *FGrHist*, 556 F
40 b – Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 34), Timoleon (Plut., *Timol.*, 39), Hephaestion (Diodorus
Siculus, XVII, 115, 4), Demetrios Poliorketes (Plut., *Demetr.*, 53) and Philopoimen (see
the article by P. Kató in this volume). For the memory of a worthy funeral see also,
e.g., Isaïos, 2, 2 (On the estate of Menekles).

20 A. Chaniotis, “Familiensache: Demonstration von Zusammengehörigkeit im
altgriechischen Grabritual”, in R. R. Eichman (ed.), *Der Odem des Menschen ist eine
Leuchte des Herrn’. Aaron Agus zum Gedenken*, Heidelberg, 2006, p. 205-209. Cf. the
significance of the στερνὸ φύλημα, kissing the deceased, in modern Greece: L.M.
Danforth, *The Death Rituals of Rural Greece*, Princeton, 1982, p. 19 and 85 (kissing the
skull upon exhumation), p. 40 sq., 73 with pl. 8 (kissing the deceased on the
forehead).

21 J. Engels, *Funerum sepulcrorumque magnificentia. Begräbnis- und Grahluxusgesetze in
der griechisch-römischen Welt*, Stuttgart, 1998; F. Frisone, *Leggi e regolamenti funerari
nel mondo greco. 1 Le fonti epigrafiche*, Galatina, 2000; E. Stavrianopoulou, “Die
„gefährvolle” Bestattung von Gambreion”, in C. Ambos et al (eds), *Die Welt der Rituale
von der Antike bis heute*, Darmstadt, 2005, p. 24-37; A. Kavoulaki, “Crossing

Communal Space: The Classical Ekphora, Public and Private”, in V. Dasen, M. Piérart (eds), *Ἱδία καὶ δημοσία. Les cadres privés et publics’ de la religion grecque antique*, Liège, 2005 (Kernos, suppl. 15), p. 129-145.

22E.g., TAM V.1, 13 and 156.

23E.g., SGOI 01/12/17: “Your father has made this grave with his own hands and with toil”; I 02/03/01: “The father and the brothers and the gray-haired mother assembled the-bones and the ash in the bosom (of an urn)”; IV 17/16/01: “Zosimos ... has built the grave with his own hands”; IV 18/01/23: “The son buried the bones of the sweet parents”; IV 22/37/01: “Diomedes has assembled the remains of those who have died long time ago, his uncle and his aunt who had raised him, bringing them from here and there and burying them near the ancestors, under the arch of this ultimate house”; cf. I 01/01/07: “I had wished to receive the earth from your hand.”

24SGO II 09/12/04: [μ]ήτηρ δ’ ἥ με λόχε[υσ’ | αὐτ]ῇ τάρχυσε, Κατύλλη.

25SGO II 10/01/01: ἀλλὰ με ταρχυθέντα καὶ Αἴδος ἐσητα[αβάντα] | ὥς ἔτ’ ἐνὶ ζώοις ὄντ’ ἐγέρηρεν ἀν[ήρ] | ὅς μοι ὁμώνυμός ἐστιν, ἀδελ[φ ---].

26SGO II 08/05/06: Εὐγήρως Δεΐδας ζήσας ὀσίως ὑπὸ θρεπτοῦ | Σαλβανα εὐσεβέως θάπτομαι ἐν παλάμαις.

27 Less explicit in SGO II 09/12/06 (Ioulioupolis): “The children and grandchildren have buried him in his grave, as he had wished.”

28 On the memorialisation of rituals through epitaphs see J.W. Day, “Rituals in Stone: Early Greek Grave Epigrams and Monuments”, *JHS* 109 (1989), p. 16-28.

29SGO II 09/05/14: [Σε]κοῦνδος ἐσθλὸς χερσὶ κηδευθεὶς πατρὸς | ἐνθάδε κατοικῶ.

30SGO I 05/01/46: τοιγάρτοι παίδων σε φίλαι χέρεις, ὥς θέμις ἐστίν, | κρύψαν.

31 SGO II 10/05/02: χερσὶ τέκνων Ἀλμυρίων τυμβευθεὶς φιλίων.

32 SGO I 02/09/34: δυσμενέων ἀπάνευθε, φίλων χερσὶ ἐταίρων.

33E.g., SGO IV 17/03/03; 20/03/06; 21/01/92.

34 Directly stated in SGO I 05/01/46: ὥς θέμις ἐμὶς ἐστίν, indirectly implied through the adverb εὐσεβέως, in SCO II 08/05/06.

35SGOIV 18/18/01: τηλ[όθε δ’] ἐρχόμενός με πατὴρ προσπύξατο χερσὶ, νεκρὸν ἐπὶ ξεινῆς κείμενον εἰσορόων.

36 On the early concept of pollution see R. Parker, *Miasma. Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*, Oxford, 1983, p. 32-73; on the persistence of this idea see A. Chanotis, “Reinheit des Körpers – Reinheit der Seele in den griechischen Kultgesetzen”, in J. Assmann, T. Sundermeier (eds), *Schuld, Gewissen und Person*, Gütersloh, 1997, p. 142-179.

37Engels, o.c. (n. 21), p. 49-119, especially p. 50 sq. and 99.

38SGO IV 22/37/01: λείψανά τ’ ἄλλοθεν ἄλλα πάλαι φθιμένων συναγείρας | θρεψαμένων θείων θῆκε παρὰ προγόνους | οἴκου ὑπὲρ νεάτοιο ὑφ’ ἀψίδα...

39LSAM 20; recent discussions (with further bibliography): S.C. Barton, G.H.R. Horsley, “A Hellenistic Cult Group and the New Testament Church”, *JAC* 24 (1981), p.

7-41; Chaniotis, *l.c.* (n. 36), p. 159-162.

40 Plut., *Arist.*, 21, 3.

41 L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin, 19662, p. 93-123; W. Burkert, *Homo necans. Interpretationen altgriechischer Opferriten und Mythen*, Berlin, 1972, p. 236-273; J. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul*, Princeton, 1983, p. 108-122; A. Bierl, "Karion, die Karer und der Plutos des Aristophanes als Inszenierung eines anthesterienartigen Ausnahmefestes", in A. Bierl, P. von Möllendorff (eds), *Orchestra. Drama, Mythos, Bühne. Festschrift für Hellmut Flashar anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages*, Stuttgart/Leipzig, 1994, p. 30-43.

42 A. Chaniotis, "Gedenktage der Griechen: Ihre Bedeutung für das Geschichtsbewußtsein griechischer Poleis", in J. Assmann (ed.), *Das Fest und das Heilige. Religiöse Kontrapunkte zur Alltagswelt*, Gütersloh, 1991, p. 131-133.

43 CP. Jones, "Interrupted Funerals", *PAPhA* 143 (1999), p. 588-600.

44 P. Herrmann, "Zwei Inschriften von Kaunos und Baba Dag", *OpA* 10 (1971), p. 36-39: Σερδει καὶ κατηφεία ἐγένετο τελεῦτης Ἀγρεοφῶντος β' τοῦ Διοδότου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου Περδει | [κ]ιάθεν ἀνδρὸς ἀξιολογώτατου καὶ εὐγενεστάτου ὡς κοινὴν ἀπάντων καὶ ἰδίαν ἐκάστου τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ λύπην ὑπολοβεῖν, καὶ ἐσπούδαζεν μὲν | καὶ ἐκκομιζόμενον αὐτὸν ἐν ᾧ πολιτελῶς ἐφιλοτειμήσατο γυμνασίῳ δημοσίας ταφῆς ἀξιώσαι, τῶν δὲ οἰκείων αὐτοῦ παραιτησαμένων συνελθὼν | ὁ δῆμος μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπεβοήσατο καὶ ἐτείμησεν αὐτὸν ταφῇ δημοσίᾳ...; see Jones, *l.c.* (n. 43), p. 589 sq., 594-596 (SEG 50, 1109).

45 *L.Knidos* 71: ...[ὁ μὲν] δῆμος ἐν οὐ μετρία συνχύ[σει γε] | νέομενος διὰ τὰν ὑπάρους[αν περὶ] | αὐτὰν ἀρετὰν τε καὶ δόξα[ν, μετὰ] | πάσας προθυμίας συνελ[θὼν ---] | ἰς τὸ θέατρον, ἀνίκα ἐξεκ[ομίζετο], | τό τε σῶμα κατέχων αὐ[τᾶς ---] | [συν]επιμελεύσατο θάπ[τεν αὐτὰμ παν | δαμ]αὶ καὶ ἐπεβόασε τ[ὰν ἀρετὰν α]ὐτᾶς, ὅπως τ[ῶν ἀξίων τιμῶν | τύχοι] καὶ μετὰ τ[ὰν τελευτάν]. On this text see A. Bielman, R. Frei-Stolba, "Femmes et funérailles publiques dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine", in *Études de Lettres. Revue de la Faculté des Lettres, Univ. de Lausanne*, Lausanne, 1998, p. 5-33.

46 A. Chaniotis, "Theatricality Beyond the Theater: Staging Public Life in the Hellenistic World", in B. Le Guen (ed.), *De la scène aux gradins. Théâtre et représentations dramatiques après Alexandre le Grand dans les cités hellénistiques. Actes du Colloque*, Toulouse 1997, Toulouse, 1997 (*Pallas*, 41), p. 224 sq.

47 J. Reynolds, C. Roueché, "The Funeral of Tatia Attalis at Aphrodisias", *Ktema* 17 (1992) [1996], p. 153-160; SEG 45, 1502: ἐπεὶ Τατία Ὑψι[κ]λέους τοῦ Ἀδράσ | τοῦ τοῦ Νειμοτείμου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ Ζήνωνος Ἰέρα | κος Ἀτταλῖς, γενομένη ἰέρεια Σεβαστῶν, π[ατέρων καὶ προγόν] | νων ὑπάρχους α τῶν πρώτων καὶ συνεντικ[ότων τὴν τὸλιν] | καὶ ἐν γυμνασιαρχίαις καὶ στεφανηφορίαις [καὶ λειτουργίαις?] καὶ ἀρχιερωσύναις καὶ ἔργων ἀναθέσεσιν κ[αλλίστων? ἀπὸ τῶν] | ἰδίων γεγονότων, ζήσασα βίον σώφρονα κ[αὶ καλὸν? καὶ ὁμολο] | γούντα τῇ τοῦ γένους σεμνότητι,

πρόμοι[ρον νῦν? τέλος εὖρε] | τοῦ βίου, ἐπὶ τε τούτῳ δημόσιον ἢ πόλις
πένθος ἐδήλωσεν] | ἀρπάσασα τε τὸ πτῶμα ὑμοθυμαδὸν [---].

48 Philostratos, *Vitae sophistarum* XV, 20: ἀποθανόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ
Μαραθῶνι καὶ ἐπισιγήσαντος τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις ἐκεῖ θάπτειν Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς
τῶν ἐφήβων χερσὶ ἀρπάσαντες ἐς ἄστν ἤνεγκαν προαπαντῶντες τῷ λέχει
πᾶσα ἡλικία δακρύοις ἅμα καὶ ἀνευφημοῦντες, ὅσα παῖδες χρηστοῦ πατρὸς
χηρεύσαντες...

49SEG 45, 1502 B, lines 8-9: ἐντεθά[φθαι δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν] τῇ πόλει ἐν τῷ |
Ἀδράστου τοῦ πάππου [αὐτῆς μνημεῖω].

50 J.H.M. Strubbe, “Bürger, Nichtbürger und Polis-Ideologie”, in K. Demoen (ed.),
*The Greek City from Antiquity to the Present. Historical Reality, Ideological Construction,
Literary Representation*, Louvain-Paris-Sterling, 2001, p. 36-38.

51 See *supra*, n. 44: ὁμοθυμαδόν; n. 45: [πανδαμ]εῖ; n. 47: ὁμοθυμαδόν; n. 48:
πᾶσα ἡλικία.

52 Theocritus, *Idyll* XV, 21-24: ἀλλ’ ἴθι, τῷμπέχονον καὶ τὰν περονατρίδα
λάξου. | βᾶμες τῷ βασιλῆος ἐς ἀφνειῷ Πτολεμαίῳ | θασόμεναι τὸν Ἀδωνιν·
αἰοῦν χρῆμα καλόν τι / κοσμεῖν τὰν βασιλίσσαν (“but come; get your dress
on and your wrap. Let’s go and see Adonis in our rich King Ptolemy’s palace. I’m
told the Queen is giving a fine show”; transl. A.S.F. Gow). Cf. H. von Hesberg,
“Temporäre Bilder oder die Grenze der Kunst. Zur Legitimation frühhellenistischer
Königsherrschaft im Fest”, *Jdl* 104 (1989), p. 62 sq.; *id.*, “Privatheit und Öffentlichkeit
der früh-hellenistischen Hofarchitektur”, in W. Hoepfner, G. Brands (eds.), *Basileia.
Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige. Internationales Symposium in Berlin, 16. 12. –
20.12.1992*, Mainz, 1996, p. 93 sq.; Chaniotis, *l.c.* (n. 46), p. 247. On the Adonis festival
in Alexandria see most recently G. Weber, *Dichtung und höfische Gesellschaft. Die
Rezeption von Zeitgeschichte am Hof der ersten drei Ptolemäer*, Stuttgart, 1993, p. 170 sq.,
284. See also M. Lambert, “Gender and Religion in Theocritus’ *Idyll* 15: Prattling
Tourists at the Adonia”, *Acta Classica* 44 (2001), p. 87-103.

53 Theocr., *Id.* XV, 78-79: ... τὰ ποικίλα πρᾶτον ἄθρησον, | λεπτά καὶ ὡς
χαρίεντα· θεῶν περονάματα φασεῖς; 84-86: αὐτὸς δ’ ὡς θαητὸς ἐπ’ ἀργυρέῳ
κατάκειται | κλισμῷ, πρᾶτον ἴουλον ἀπὸ κροτάφων καταβάλλων, | ὁ
τριφύλητος Ἀδωνις, ὁ κὴν Ἀχέροντι φιληθεῖς.

54 On the Anthesteria and the rituals of the Choes see the bibliography *supra* (n. 41)
and N. Robertson, “Athens’ Festival of the New Wine”, *HSCP* 95 (1993), p. 197-250.

55 Plut., *Antonios*, 70: καὶ ποτε τῆς τῶν Χοῶν οὔσης ἑορτῆς εἰσιτῶντο καθ’
αὐτοὺς οἱ δύο, τοῦ δ’ Ἀπηνάντου φήσαντος, Ὡς καλόν, ὦ Τίμων, τὸ
συμτόσιον ἡμῶν, Εἶγε σύ, ἔφη, ‘μὴ παρῆς’.

56 F. Graf, *Gottesnähe und Schadenzauber. Die Magie in der griechisch-römischen Antike*,
Munich, 1996, p. 188-192.

57 Arist., *Eth. Nic.* VIII 9, 5 (1160a 19): θυσίας ἔνεκα καὶ συνουσίας.

58 Συναγωγή: F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, Leipzig, 1909, p.
356-358; σύνοδος: *ibid.*, 158-163; συνθιασῶται: *e.g.*, IG II² 1298; συνερανισταί: SEG

31, 122; συνμύσται (members of an association of mysts): Poland, o.c., p. 39; e.g., SEG 36, 1114 (Mysia, 3rd cent. AD); Συνανουβιασταί: I. Smyrna 765 a; Συναδωνιάζοντες: Poland, o.c., p. 62.

59IG X.2.1, 192 (c. AD 250).

60 A. Lebessi, “Ἡ συνέχεια τῆς κρητομυκηναϊκῆς λατρείας. Ἐπιιώσεις καὶ ἀναβιώσεις”, *AEphem* (1981), p. 4.

61Syll.3 1107 (3rd century BC); Poland, o.c. (n. 58), p. 165.

62E.g., IG II² 1368, 1. 134 (συνθυσία in the association of Iobakchoi in Athens); SEG 38, 1462, lines 69, 82-87 (joint offering of sacrifices by magistrates and villages at the Demostheneia of Oinoanda); SEG 43, 718 (donation of old aromatic wine during a sacrifice on the occasion of the dedication of a statue: οἶνοδοσία σαπροοδῶν τοῖς συνθύσαισι); cf. LSCG 87 and 171. See also Poland, o.c. (n. 58), p. 34, 255-256; C.P. Jones, “Joint Sacrifice” at Iasus and Side”, *JHS* 118 (1998), p. 183-186 (in the context of the emperor cult); for συνθύται see P. Roesch, *Études béotiennes*, Paris, 1982, p. 113 with examples from Boiotia; cf. I.N. Arnaoutoglou, *Thusias beneka kai sunousias. Private Religious Associations in Hellenistic Athens*, Athens, 2003, p. 45 with n. 41.

63SEG 37, 961 (delegation of boys and girls sent by Laodikeia to Klaros, early 2nd cent. AD).

64SEG 38, 1462, 1. 58 (the agonothetes leads the procession of the Demostheneia together with other magistrates; Oinoanda, 2nd cent. AD); 1. 84 (participation in a procession); SEG 43, 703-704; Poland, o.c. (n. 58), p. 267, note ***.

65I.Stratonikeia 115 (joined worship of locals and foreigners during a festival; Panamara, Hellenistic period). Cf. also the numerous constructions with συντελέω (see the index in LSCG, p. 358), which, however, place the sharing of the expenses in the foreground.

66IG X.2.1, 70 (Thessalonike, AD 66). This term probably refers to the celebration of ritual banquets and symposia. This assumption is supported by a still unpublished dedication to Theos Hypsistos and the “gods who attend the symposion” (συμποσιασταὶ θεοὶ) in Thessalonike (Imperial period); for a preliminary report see SEG 47, 963.

67SEG 39, 1202.

68Poland, o.c. (n. 58), p. 129.

69Syll.³ 1173 = IGUR I 148.

70SGO II 08/01/53: καὶ σε τὸν ἐν σπονδαῖσιν γεγαθότα πολὺ μετ’ ἀστῶν | μάτηρ αἰάζει μυρομένα πρύτανιν.

71 See *supra* n. 21 and in particular the study by A. Kavoulaki.

72Chaniotis, l.c. (n. 10), p. 155 with n. 65.

73 SEG 41, 1003 II, lines 9-17.

74 For these cult regulations see W. Blümel, “Inscripfen aus Karien I”, *EA* 25 (1995), p. 35-39; *id.*, “Ein weiteres Fragment des Kultgesetzes aus Bargylia”, *EA* 28 (1997), p. 153-156; K. Zimmermann, “Späthellenistische Kultpraxis in einer karischen Kleinstadt. Eine lex sacra aus Bargylia”, *Chiron* 30 (2000), p. 451-485; W. Blümel, “Ein

dritter Teil des Kultgesetzes aus Bargylia”, *EA* 32 (2000), p. 89-94; S. Hotz, “Bigger, Better, More – Die Kleinstadt Bargylia im Bann eines Festes”, in Ambos *et al.* (ed.), o.c. (n. 21), p. 59-65; *SEG* 45, 1508 A/B; *SEG* 48, 1328; *SEG* 50, 1101.

75MAMA VIII, 413, lines 12-25: [ὁ]πεσχημένος κατασκευάσει[ν] | θυηπολεῖον δειπνιστήριον | καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸ οἰκήματα ἔχ | | τῶν ἐμῶν τῇ ἐπιφανεί οὐ[ρα]νία | πανδήμῳ θεᾷ Ἀφροδίτῃ [καὶ τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ πατρίδι | π]ρὸς τὸ ἐν | αὐτῷ ἐστιᾶσθα[ι] | τ]ήν τε βουλήν καὶ τοὺς διακ[ο] | | σιαπρώτους καὶ τὴν γερουσί | [α]ν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πολεῖτας | [κατὰ φ]υλὰς ἐκ τοῦ | τόκου ὦν [καὶ | πρὶν ἀνέθ]ηκα τῇ θεᾷ θυηπ[ο]λι | κῶν χρημάτων ἐ<π>ὶ στεφανηφό[ο] | ρου ---]. See A. Chaniotis, “Twelve Buildings in Search of a Location. Known and Unknown Buildings in Inscriptions of Aphrodisias”, in C. Ratte (ed.), *Aphrodisias Papers IV* (forthcoming).

76 M. Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien. Studien zu einer agonistischen Stiftung aus Oinoanda*, Munich, 1988, p. 219-220.

77IG II² 1368; *LSCG* 51.

78 Κόσμος can also mean “decoration”, but I think that a meaning closer to “order, good behaviour, good rules, honour” best matches this context.

79IG II² 4985.

80IG II² 1369. For another example see *SEG* 31, 122 (decree of an eranos, Athens, c. AD 121), now in E. Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law. A Collection of New Documents*, Leiden, 2005, p. 177-190 n° 5: “If anyone engages in a fight in the association, on the following day the one who started the fight shall pay a fine of five drachmas; the one who joined it (shall pay) five drachmas.” See also Arnaoutoglou, o.c. (n. 62), p. 101-102 with n. 43 and p. 156.

81 A. Chaniotis, *l.c.* (n. 36), p. 152-173; J.N. Bremmer, “How Old is the Ideal of Holiness (of Mind) in the Epidaurian Temple Inscription and the Hippocratic Oath?”, *ZPE* 141 (2002), p. 106-108 (with the comments in *EBGR* 2002, 15).

82 M. W. Dickie, “Who were privileged to see the gods?”, *Eranos* 100 (2002), p. 109-127.

83LSAM 20 (transl. by S.C. Barton and G.H.R. Horsley, modified): γυναῖκα ἐλευθέραν ἀγνήν εἶν[αι καὶ μὴ γινώσκ] | εἰν ἄ[λ]λου ἀνδρὸς πλὴν τοῦ ἰδίου εὐνή[ν ἢ συνουσίαν ἐ] | ἀν δὲ γνῶι, τὴν τοιαύτην μὴ εἶναι ἀγ[ν]ή[ν, ἀλλὰ μεμιασμέ] | νην καὶ μύσο[υ]ς ἐμφυλίου πλή[ρ]η καὶ σ[έ]βεσθαι ἀναξίαν | τὸν θεὸν τοῦ[το]ν [ο]ῦ ταῦτα τὰ ἱερὰ ἴδρ[υ]ται, μηδὲ θυσίαις | παρατυγχ[άνει]ν μηδὲ τ[οῖς] ἀγ[ν]ισμοῖς καὶ καθαρμοῖς | προσκόπτειν μηδὲ ὀρᾶν ἐπιτελούμ[ενα τὰ μυστήρια]; for further bibliography see *supra* n. 39.

84H.Duchêne, *La stèle du port. Fouilles du port 1. Recherches sur une nouvelle inscription tbsienne*, Paris, 1992; *SEG* 42, 785.

85 Lines 30-33: ἐπὶ τὸ τέγεος τῶν κατοικιῶν τῶν δημοσίων τῶν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τ | αὐτῇ θῆς ἔνεκεν μηδὲς ἀναβαινέτω· μηδ | ἐ γυνή δ' ἐ[κ] τῶν θυρίδων θήσθω.

86 A.J. Graham, “The Woman at the Window: Observations on the ‘Stele from the

Harbour' of Thasos", *JHS* 118 (1998), p. 22-440; rejected by F.X. Ryan, "Über die Fenster zur Strasse in Athen und Piräus", *Boreas* 23/24 (2000/2001), p. 73-75; A. Henry, "Hookers and Lookers: Prostitution and Soliciting in Late Archaic Thasos", *ABSA* 97 (2002), p. 217-221.

87IG V.1, 1390 = *LSCG* 65; recent discussions M.L. Zunino, *Hiera Messeniaka. La storia religiosa della Messenia dall'età micenea all'età ellenistica*, Udine, 1997, p. 301-334; T. Figueira, "The Evolution of the Messenian Identity", in: S. Hodkinson, A. Powell (eds), *Sparta. New Perspectives*, London, 1999, p. 211-244; L. Piolot, "Pausanias et les Mystères d'Andanie. Histoire d'une aporie", in J. Renard (ed.), *Le Péloponnèse. Archéologie et Histoire. Actes de la rencontre international de Lorient (12-15 mai 1998)*, Rennes, 1999, p. 195-228; C. Chandezon, "Foières et panégyries dans le monde grec classique et hellénistique", *REG* 113 (2000), p. 81-85; L. Piolot, "Le recrutement des musiciens pour les fêtes à l'époque hellénistique: le cas messénien", in P. Brulé, C. Vendries (eds.), *Chanter les dieux. Musique et religion dans l'Antiquité grecque et romaine. Actes du colloque des 16, 17 et 18 décembre 1999 (Rennes et Lorient)*, Rennes, 2001, p. 279-306. On the date see now *SEG* 52, 377 (AD 24).

88E.g., knots which are associated with binding and magic are not allowed (lines 22-23).

89 Line 40: ἀπρεπῶς ἀναστρεφόμενον; line 42: εὐσχημόνως καὶ ἐκτάκτως; line 43: ἀπρεπῶς ἀναστρεφομένους.

90 On the notion of *euphemia* see Gödde, *l.c.* (n. 6), p. 24-46, especially p. 27-30.

91 For such prohibitions in connection with the *asylia* see A. Chaniotis, "Conflicting Authorities: Greek *Asylia* between Secular and Divine Law in the Classical and Hellenistic Poleis", *Kernos* 9 (1996), p. 65-86.

92 See, e.g., Agatharchides, *FGrHist*, 86 F 5 (*apud* Athenaios, VII, 297d-e, transl. by G.B. Gulick, modified). For the exclusion of foreigners in Greek cult see P. Butz, "The Double Publication of a Sacred Prohibition on Delos: ID 68, A and B", *BCH* 118 (1994), p. 69-98, who explains ethnic exclusivity in cult as connected with ethnic identity; cf. *ead.*, "Prohibitionary Inscriptions, ξένοι, and the Influence of Early Greek Polis", in R. Hägg (ed.), *The Role of Religion in the Early Greek Polis*, Stockholm, 1996, 75-79; For regulations concerning entry in sanctuaries in general, see most recently Lupu, *o.c.* (n. 80), p. 14-21 (for foreigners see p. 19-20).

93 A. Chaniotis, "Ritual Dynamics in the Eastern Mediterranean: Case Studies in Ancient Greece and Asia Minor", in W.V. Harris (ed.), *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, Oxford, 2005, p. 143-146.

94 A. Chaniotis, "Negotiating Religion in the Cities of the Eastern Roman Empire", *Kernos* 16 (2003), p. 177-190.

The Funeral of Philopoimen in the Historiographical Tradition

Peter Kató

I.

1

A great number of usually thorough ancient sources speaks of the funeral of Philopoimen, the most successful and beloved of Achaean politician. One witness to that event, Polybius, has even treated it twice: the first time, in the late 180s, in his lost *Biography of Philopoimen*, and later in the *Histories*. Today we only possess fragments of the latter, treating the political and military circumstances of the funeral.

1

A decree, preserved in an inscription, of the city of Megalopolis on the occasion of Philopoimen's death does admittedly not contain any portrayal of the funeral itself, but it is still very important as a contemporary witness to the event.

2

The most thorough description of the funeral does not make its appearance until in the work of Plutarch. Diodoros and the Periegetes Pausanias also speak of the funeral.

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2

The figure of Philopoimen is of exceptional importance to these writers: In Polybius, he is a man who "in virtue stands behind no one of the past",

in Plutarch, “the last of the Greeks”,

and in Pausanias, not entirely in accord with the latter description, he is even praised as “the father of Hellenism”.

The Roman historian Livy seems to stand outside of this tradition: in his work, one only finds the brief remark that Philopoimen was buried *ab universo achaico concilio*, and that he was granted *divina honora*.

The restrained tone of this brief account is explained, through Livy’s own comment, by the idea that the Achaean leader was not a person of the same rank as the two great fighters of the second Punic war, Scipio and Hannibal.

Through this short overview of the literary sources treating Philopoimen’s funeral it is evident that people have not lost interest in the story over the centuries. The record of this event nevertheless underwent changes or expansions between 182 BC and the 2nd century AD, which are discernible in the corresponding sources. The present study is about these changes, and also about the question of the cultural and socio-historical developments, which serve as background to the discrepancies between the different portrayals. Especially important among these developments is the change in funeral ritual for political personalities between the 2nd century BC and 2nd century AD. The example of Philopoimen therefore offers us the possibility of observing the interaction between ritual and text, and of demonstrating the influence of contemporary ritual practice on historiographical portrayal.

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Before we delve into an analysis of the various sources, we should briefly review the history of the Achaean League and of the city Megalopolis in the first decades of the 2nd century. One notices a tension in both the foreign and domestic politics of the Achaean League at this time. In the foreign area, the falling out with Rome had

had dire consequences for the League. Since the Achaean politicians, and especially Philopoimen, had refused to refer the settlement of the Spartan question to the senate, the Roman senate, after the secession of Messenia, announced to the Peloponnesian ambassadors that it was indifferent to it whether Sparta, Argos, or Corinth would win independence from the League, and that they would not get involved with the domestic affairs of the League.

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The domestic situation was also very sensitive: first the already mentioned secession of Messenia, and shortly thereafter that of Sparta, jeopardized the political unity of the Peloponnese that had been achieved in the 190s.

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Furthermore, it is easy to see how the great city Megalopolis was the one hardest hit by the exit of Messenia and Sparta, since it was situated so close to the new border of the Achaean League that it could be reached by a hostile army within one day, which the surprise attack of Cleomenes III in the summer of 223 had clearly shown.

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The epigraphic material from the end of the 180s bears witness to some territorial disputes with the neighboring cities.

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The city was able to stabilize its position through participation of the political elite in the arbitration process.

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The contemporary records of the death and funeral of Philopoimen are to be viewed within this historical framework. After Philopoimen's death, the Achaeans in Megalopolis held an assembly of the League in which Lykortas was chosen as the new *strategos* of the League. Both the assembly of the League and the people's assembly of Megalopolis issued decrees of honor for the deceased Philopoimen at the same time. According to the decree of Megalopolis, Philopoimen's remains should be brought to Megalopolis and be buried in the agora. As commander of the Achaean military, Lykortas led an army to Messenia, which was striving for independence, to restore the land to the League, and to bring Philopoimen's remains to Megalopolis. After the devastation of the Messenian land and negotiations with the opponents of Deinokrates, who had been responsible for the secession

of Messenia in the first place, the urn of Philopoimen was brought back to Megalopolis and buried in the agora.

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One infers a sign of this precarious domestic situation of Megalopolis from the posthumous honorary decree Syll.³ 624, the earliest source for Philopoimen's burial, in that it reflects the "Bedürfnisse, Ängste und Ideale"

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of the people of Megalopolis, and thereby offers us important clues about circumstances immediately after Philopoimen's death. First of all, the city places great weight on the idea that the League itself not outshines it. This intention is made clear by the fact that the decision of the people of Megalopolis regarding the burial, the divine honors, and the arrangement of the death-cult for Philopoimen followed shortly upon a similar, non-extant decree of the League assembly.

14

So the goal of the members of the people's assembly was "that his fame become as great as possible, both in the League as well as in the home city". The fact that the remains of the deceased should be brought "to our city", i.e. not to another one, and be buried in the agora, served this goal, as is emphasized in the inscriptional text.

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One may explain these measures by the fear of the Megapolitans that the city lose its leading role within the Achaean League, as Plutarch confirms: the Arcadians who participated in the funeral procession to Megalopolis said that "with him they had lost their superior position among the Achaeans".

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The honors manifested in great buildings and sculptures were topographically focused in the agora of the city.

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A *hêroon* thus arose in the sacral and political center of the city. That is also where as beautiful an altar as possible, of white marble (1. 9-10), and four statutes were supposed to have been erected, in several public and probably also sacral places. So the intention with these honors by the people's assembly was to constantly remind not only the citizens of the city, but also any foreigner that might visit, of the figure and deeds of the Megalopolitan leader. The members of the

assembly of the League were surely the first ones to be understood as said foreigners.

8

The cult rites regulated in the decree reveal much about the ideals of the citizens in this tensed situation. The cult rites, repeated yearly on the holiday of Zeus Sôter, suggest the identification of the deceased leader with Zeus. It is noticeable that the city appears in the foreground of almost all the regulations of the decision. We can recognize that by the fact that the goddess Hestia also plays an important role in the Hero-cult, which succinctly expresses the idea of the whole city assembling around the statue of the beloved leader as one family.

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The regulations according to which the city's *hierothytai* were responsible for the sacrifice also indicate the special role of the whole city in the Hero-cult of Philopoimen. There are even further rules to this effect, whose content, however, is indiscernible due to their fragmentary state, though they contain the word *polis* at least three times.

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It was very important during the crisis described above that the city appears unified both to those on the inside as well as those on the outside. As has already been stated, the present decree of the city's people's assembly was realized immediately after the honorary decree of the League. By virtue of the political situation, and of indications found in this inscription, we may assume a rivalry between the cult for Philopoimen in the League and its equivalent in Megalopolis. Megalopolis did of course take great pains to surpass the honors instituted by the League, and to emphasize the independent nature of the city cult. The oft repeated mentioning of the city's institutions served this goal. As for the inner life of the city, the emphasis of the city's institutions resulted in the fact that no particular segment of the population received a preferred role in the cult rites.

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Based on the epigraphic sources dated to shortly before or after Philopoimen's burial, we may conclude that the crisis caused by Philopoimen's death led to unified action on the part of the

Megalopolitan citizens. One may recognize this in the level of personal political involvement on the part of the most distinguished citizens in inter-state affairs; in the area of cult rites, through the emphasis on the communal participation of the city's population in the cult of Philopoimen; and in the clear separation between the rituals performed by the city and those performed by the League. This subtle interaction between politics and ritual served the strengthening of Megalopolis' position in a clear politico-military context: the secession of Messenia and Sparta, which might threaten not only the powerful position of the city within the League, but even its actual existence.

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If we now turn to the earliest literary portrayals of the events, it becomes clear that the inter-state political context formed a general framework throughout the portrayal of Philopoimen's burial. The burial itself, as well as the evaluation of Philopoimen's person, must have constituted an important theme of Polybius' *Biography of Philopoimen*, which probably appeared by the end of the 180s.

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Due to the loss of the text and the lack of unambiguous quotes from or references to it, there is very little we can say about the work for certain. But when the dating stated is correct, then the Vita should be considered an almost immediate reaction to the crisis, related above, of Achaea and Megalopolis after Philopoimen's death. So in all probability, the patriotic tendencies observed in the inscriptional text played a large role in the biography.

12

The extant fragments of the *Histories* of Polybius contain passages about the events of 182, but they are, with the exception of the brief evaluation of Philopoimen's activities, limited to the diplomatic and military events, which is due to the specific choosing criteria of the Byzantine excerpts.

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The section of critique against the brutal measures taken by his father against Messenia says a lot about the interest and values of

Polybius. He condemns the plundering of the enemy territory not on merely humane grounds, but far more on pragmatic and political ones: it was damaging because it rendered impossible a proper arrangement and peace, that is, the restoration of the political unity of the Peloponnese under Achaean leadership.

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But from the already mentioned Diodoros' passage,

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which surely refers back to Polybius, one may still affirm, regarding the lost parts of the text that the historian wrote about both the honorary decree discussed above, as well as about the cult regulations. The presence of both themes, the military-diplomatic events and the reaction of the Megalopolitan people, leads to the conclusion that Polybius basically treated Philopoimen's burial in the same emotional context that I have already established through analysis of the text of the inscription.

13

Plutarch's account, which offers us the most thorough and coherent narrative of the funeral we have, presents a decisive change in the historiographical tradition. It is clear from the deviations from his main source, Polybius, that the biographer deliberately overworked the story of the funeral. Perhaps the most striking deviation from the Polybian version is the almost complete dissociation of the story from Peloponnesian inter-state relations. Political events, such as the sequence of leaders or assemblies of the League, are only presented in a cursory manner and are full of gaps. Instead of the diplomatic and military events, one finds in Plutarch the description of the emotional state of the Achaeans, and instead of the causal relationships of these events, he offers us a purely psychological motivation. One recognizes this change of interest very well in the motivation for the campaign against Messenia:

When the report of his death reached the Achaeans, their cities were filled with general sorrow and grief, and the men of military age, together with the members of the council, assembled at Megalopolis. Without any delay whatsoever they proceeded to take revenge. They named Lycortas as general, invaded Messenia, and ravaged the country, until the Messenians with one mind received them into their city.

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So while the secession of Messenia played the most important role in Polybius, in Plutarch the sadness and depression about Philopoimen's death are the factors, which cause the actions of the Peloponnesian population. As it is obvious from Polybius, the main objective of the campaign was originally the restoration of Messenia into the Achaean League, but Plutarch defines the campaign as revenge for Philopoimen's death. One recognizes the same difference in the treatment of the course of the campaign. Plutarch does not even mention the domestic disputes of the Messenians and the Achaean-Messenian negotiations, portrayed in such detail by Polybius, and instead places the personal tragedy of Deinokrates in the center, as a moral opposite of Philopoimen.

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It may moreover be established that Plutarch's account is subject to a scheme of time different from that of Polybius. As has just been stated, Plutarch leaves out several mainly diplomatic events that had been thoroughly portrayed by Polybius. This, together with the emphasis on the agitation of the Achaeans, leads to an impression with the reader that everything happened quickly in a very brief time span. We can only speak of an impression, since the narrative lacks any concrete indications of time. But the actual duration of the campaign may be limited to within the time-frame of the League assemblies that took place at its beginning and at its end, because we know from Polybius that a League assembly was held in Megalopolis immediately before the attack on Messenia, and then a second one at the time of the conquest of Messene

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. Philopoimen died in May or June of 182, when an assembly of the League was supposed to have been held anyway. Since the *synodoi* were spread out from early in the year (April) to September, the second *synodos* must have taken place at the end of July or beginning of August.

27

This indicates that the campaign of Lykertas lasted about two months. Plutarch's account therefore is marked by a dramatic concentration of the events.

16

The deviation of Plutarch's diction in discussing the Achaean council

also indicates a restructuring of the Polybian account. It says in Plutarch that the Achaeans went to Megalopolis with the *probouloi* in order to hold an assembly of the League there.

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But the word *proboulos* never occurs in the surviving parts of the *Histories*, and the council of the Achaeans is consequently named *boule*. It is difficult to say, why Plutarch made this obvious mistake. But since *probouloi* are attested not only in the classical period but also in the imperial period, it seems reasonable to reckon with the influence of the political terminology of the 1st/2nd century AD.

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Regarding the subsequent course of events we must rely entirely on Plutarch, since the passages in Polybius about the funeral procession and burial have been lost. Plutarch's description of the funeral procession into the great Arcadian city is divided into two contrasting sections. The first one is characterized by regulated order, the second by uncontrolled emotion. In the first section the political and military elite stand in the foreground, in the second the people.

18

When the army under the command of Lykortas in Messene had set off on its return, the train of people was ordered along the lines of the social and military hierarchy. As Plutarch remarks, it was a combination of victory and funeral procession.

30

The young Polybius led the procession with the urn in his hands; he was followed by the *protoi* of the Achaeans, and then by fully armed soldiers on decorated horses. It is easy to assume that Lykortas' purpose with this arrangement was to present to the decision-makers, who had elected him as their *strategos*, his son Polybius as his successor and as the political heir of Philopoimen.

31

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The inhabitants of the villages and cities between Messene and Megalopolis, both men and women, young and old, ruined this strict hierarchy and order by greeting the remains of Philopoimen as though he were returning from a military campaign. Everyone crowded around the urn in order to touch it. So Philopoimen's urn

once again stands in the center of attention, as in the previous section, but this time in the center of a scene characterized by a tumultuous, uncontrollable, and spontaneous burst of emotion. A lamentation spread among the participants (διὰ πάντος ... τοῦ στρατεύματος),

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since with the death of Philopoimen they also mourned the loss of the leading status of Megalopolis.

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Once the procession had reached Megalopolis, the burial took place in the agora, where, in addition, those Messenian prisoners who were responsible for the assassination of Philopoimen were executed.

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The Arcadian people enter into the center of the story in this section: They gather around the urn as a quasi family of Philopoimen in order to mourn the family member (father?, son?, *sôter*?), and they thereby spontaneously articulate their deeply felt sorrow. The communal action already seen in the Polybian version as well as in the decree here undergoes a drastic alteration: The narration's emphasis is no longer on the inter-state relationships. The political aspects of Philopoimen's death are pushed into the background in Plutarch's version. The relationship between the great leader and the populace is thereby emphasized all the more – that is to say, Plutarch deliberately produces it.

IV.

21

It is easy to ascribe these deviations between Plutarch's version and its main source, the *Histories* of Polybius, to the literary genre of biography, as Plutarch himself was certainly not unaware of the independence of biography from historical writing.

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It is nevertheless necessary to offer an explanation for this so clearly intentional new portrayal of Philopoimen's funeral in Plutarch's account. The comparison with documents from the imperial era regarding the burials of members of the city elite is particularly

informative in this respect. The Plutarchian portrayal of the story of the funeral reveals far-reaching structural, narrative, and thematic similarities with a certain subgroup of posthumous honorary decrees, namely the resolutions of consolation, or “commotion decrees”.

36

We can observe in these decrees the alterations in burial ritual that pertain especially to the circle of participants and to the communal mourning.

37

The resolutions passed on the occasion of the death of a prominent member of the current local society portray the reaction of the citizenry. The achievements which the deceased individual accomplished for his or her society are not always of great relevance in this regard, since members, especially female ones, of an important family were allowed, as quasi “benefactors of the community”, to receive posthumous honors in any case. In the narrative parts of the relevant decrees, “the irrational, uncontrolled, emotional aspect of the people’s behavior” is especially emphasized.

38

A profound relationship between the deceased and the population would thereby be constructed, and illustrated further within the framework of the funerary ritual. This strong emotional state caused the people in extraordinary and even spontaneous assemblies to pass decrees regarding a death cult or a funeral within the city, usually in centrally located places, such as the agora or the theater. The people’s assembly and the funeral usually took place on the same date as the death itself. The Knidian decree for a female descendant of C. Iulius Theopompos contains all the characteristic elements of these public burials: “The demos, having worked itself into a state of considerable commotion, on account of her virtue and good name, eagerly gathered to the theatre, and when she was carried out in procession, they seized her body, insisted on a public burial and acclaimed her [virtue?].”

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Public burials of this type have been handed down to us mostly in inscriptions, but literary texts provide parallels as well.

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Their spatial and chronological scope in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD

implies the acceptance of this modified ritual practice, which pertained to the members of the local elite. Against the backdrop of this new mourning ritual we see the gradual disappearance of the line between Polis and elite.

41

Not only the family dependants and relatives *stricto sensu* are supposed to be present at the funeral procession and burial and to mourn the dead, which was originally a family affair, but the whole city.

42

This “uninhibited” mourning by the citizens is placed in the foreground, and legitimizes the relationship to the deceased individual and his accomplishments for the community.

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It is precisely these characteristic signs of the “commotion decrees” that we find again in Plutarch’s account: the people’s grief at the news,

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which led to the “spontaneous” League assembly in Megalopolis, to the quick choice of Lykortas as new *strategos*, and above all to the military campaign against Messene, which is portrayed as a campaign of revenge. Then the victory- and funeral-procession with the weeping soldiers wearing victory wreaths followed. They in turn followed the urn, also with wreaths, containing the remains of Philopoimen, through the country to Megalopolis.

44

The spontaneous participation of the people from all the various villages through which the procession passed formed another highlight. Everyone wanted to touch the urn, everyone wanted to carry it and take part in the collective mourning.

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The mourning affected all of them and they therefore had to endure it *pandemi*.

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The conclusion readily suggests itself that Plutarch, in his description of Philopoimen’s funeral, referred back to the performance of mourning ritual that in his time pertained to the “benefactors” of a community, and to the corresponding honorary decrees. One does

not, however, thereby doubt the historical credibility of his account, since comparison with contemporary sources (Polybius, posthumous honorary decree) has shown that it was by no means a question of mere inventions on his part, but rather of a conscious grouping of the events and the assimilation of them to the conditions of his time.

26

The version of Pausanias should probably be placed in the same context. Pausanias

47

leans mainly on Plutarch, but the portrayal of the Messenian debate regarding the captured Philopoimen forms the nucleus of his version. As already familiar from Livy and Plutarch, Deinokrates argued for the execution of Philopoimen, but the representatives of the people wanted to preserve his life. Pausanias says that they called him the “father of all Hellenism”. The earlier sources admittedly confirm both the contrary opinions of the Messenian people as well as the extraordinary popularity of the Achaean leader in all of Greece, even after his death.

48

But the idea that Philopoimen should in his lifetime have been called the father of the Greeks does not appear in any of the other sources known to us. In my view, two possible explanations present themselves: either it was a question of a portrayal of Philopoimen common in Roman imperial times, which Pausanias makes relevant even for the 2nd century BC, or the Periegetes, due to his similar political experiences, correctly understood the implicit tendencies of the Plutarchian account, and made them explicit in his portrayal of the Messenian debates. The numerous proclamations by cities for their citizens as “father” or “mother” of the citizenry or of the city come to mind.

49

In this issue, however, certainty is impossible.

27

In conclusion, the outcome of this investigation is that the figure of Philopoimen and the portrayal of his funeral did not lose any of its relevance in the four hundred years after his death. History, however, saw considerable changes during the course of this time. Immediately after his death, the Peloponnesian inter-state relationships were still of great importance: the surviving passages of Polybius’ *Histories* and

the Megalopolitan people's resolution, preserved through inscriptions, testify to this. With the conquest of Greece by Rome, this aspect of the matter naturally lost its significance, as one sees in the accounts of the same events from the imperial period. Instead of League-politics, the emotional connection between the great individual and the citizens came to the fore. Influenced by the ritual practice of his day, Plutarch rewrote the original portrayal of Polybios and thereby presented his readers with a mourning ritual appropriate for "the last of the Greeks".

Notes

1 Polybios, XXIII, 17-18, 2.

2IG V 2, 432= Syll³ 624.

3 Diodorus Siculus, XXIX, 18; Pausanias, VIII, 51, 8.

4 Pol., XXIII, 12, 3.

5 Plutarchos, *Philopoimen*, 1, 4.

6 Paus., VIII, 51, 7.

7 Livius, XXXIX, 50, 9-10.

8 Pol., XXIII, 9, 13: according to the interpretation of Polybios it was a proclamation to all members of Koinon whose intention it was to secede.

9 Messene: C.A. Roebuck, *A History of Messenia from 369 to 146 B.C.*, Chicago, 1941, p. 95-102; R.M. Errington, *Philopoimen*, Oxford, 1969, p. 185-191; very little is known about the exit of Sparta: cf. P. Cartledge, A. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta*, London/New York, 1989, p. 82-83.

10 Plut., *Philop.*, 4, 1.

11 It concerns three arbitrations regarding border disputes between Megalopolis and neighbouring municipalities: Thouria (*IPark* 31, II A, B) and Helisphasia (*IPark* 31, I A). Dittenberger dated the third dispute with Sparta regarding Aigytiis and Skiritis in the northern Eurotas valley (*IvO* 91-98) after 164. Recently, H. Taeuber, in a still unpublished lecture (held on February 24, 2005, in Szeged, during a conference entitled "Greek legal inscriptions and papyri") has suggested the new dating of late 180s. Regardless of the question of dating, a border conflict in the years after *Philopoimen*'s death is likely, since Laconia's secession practically forced to the fore the question of the affiliation of this strategically very important area.

12IPark 31 B.5 shows that the historian Polybios and his brother Thearidas involved themselves as ambassadors of Megalopolis in the dispute with Thouria. Their father, Lykortas, was at the time *strategos* of the League.

13 A. Chaniotis, "Sich selbst feiern? Städtische Feste des Hellenismus im Spannungsfeld von Religion und Politik", in M. Wörrle, P. Zanker (eds), *Stadt und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus*, Munich, 1995, p. 154-155.

14 See Syll.³ 624, 1; Diod., XXIX, 18 confirms the chronological correspondence between the two honorary decrees.

15Cf. the debate between Aigion and Sikyon regarding the burial of Aratos in 213/2, Plut., *Aral.*, 53. Whether the participants at the League assembly actually wanted to bury Philopoimen in another city, in Aigion for instance, cannot be determined. It is noteworthy that the Megalopolitans considered the city and not the League as their homeland (*patris*). In Polybios the word *patris* refers not only to cities, but also to areas extending beyond the polis, such as federal states. See H. Weissenow, "Bemerkungen zum Gebrauch von πατρίς bei Polybios", *Philologus* 120 (1976), p. 210-214.

16 Plut., *Philop.*, 21, 4.

17 The heroic honours decreed for Philopoimen are very similar to the honours for Aratos and Eudamos, who were also "Heroen mit politischer Wirksamkeit", see E. Stavrianopoulou, "Die Familienexedra von Eudamos und Lydiadas in Megalopolis", *Tekmeria* 7 (2002), p. 117-156.

18Syll³ 624, 1. 45: The priest of Hestia had to crown Philopoimen's statue during the annual feast for Zeus Sôter.

19 The epigraphic material from Megalopolis implies that this was not to be taken for granted. In the honours for Eudamos, father of the Megalopolitan tyrant Lydiadas, the "*ekgonoi*" of the one honoured and the third "*lokhos*", a military unit of the city, occupy a particular position. In the light of this honorary decree, the fact that no sign of such a special position is to be found in the cult of Philopoimen becomes very important. On the *ekgonoi* of Eudamos, see Stavrianopoulou, *l. c.* (n. 17), p. 149-154.

20 K. Ziegler, s.v. "Polybios", *RE* XXI, 2 (1952), col. 1472-3 does in my opinion convincingly reject the arguments of P. Pédech, "Polybe et l'éloge de Philopoimen", *REG* 64 (1951), p. 82-103 for a dating after 146 BC.

21 Pol., XXIII, 12,1-9: Death of Philopoimen, evaluation of his person; XXIII, 15: condemnation of the harshness and cruelty of the revenge campaign of Lykortas; XXIII, 16-18,2: restoration of Messenia and Sparta into the Achaean League; the reference to the inscription Syll.³ 624 in Diod., XXIX, 18 also goes back to Polybios.

22 Pol., XXIII, 15,1-3.

23 Diod., XXIX, 18.

24 Plut., *Philop.*, 21, 1 (transl. B. Perrin, modified).

25Cf. Plut., *Philop.*, 21, 2: Before his execution Philopoimen worried only about the life of his fellow-soldiers, and on hearing, that they eventually survived, calmly

emptied the cup of poison.

26 For the first *synodos*, see Plut., *Philop.*, 21,1; J.A.O. Larsen, *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History*, Berkeley, 1955,p. 178,has shown that it could not have been a question of an extraordinary *synodos*, as Plutarch's version apparently suggests. It was a regular *synodos*, probably called by Archon, who was provisional *strategos* after Philopoimen's death. For the second *synodos*, see Pol., XXIII, 16, 12.

27 Here I follow the dating of Errington, o.c. (n. 9),p. 241-245. On the distribution of *synodoi*, see W.P. Theunissen, *Plutarchos' Leven van Aratos met historisch-topographisch komentaar*, Nijmegen, 1935,p. 39-40; GA. Lehmann, "Erwägungen zur Struktur des achaischen Bundesstaates", *ZPE* 51 (1983),p. 243.

28 Plut., *Philop.*, 21,1.

29 On *prohouloi* in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see H. Schaefer, s.v. "Proboulos", *RE* XXIII, 1 (1957),col. 1228-1231.

30 Such (socially) hierarchically ordered funeral processions are also attested in inscriptions, e.g. *IPriene* 104,9-13; 108,366-377. On ἀκφοραί in the 2nd and 1st cent. BC, see Ph. Gauthier, *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs*, Paris, 1985,p. 61; E. Schwertheim, "Ein postumer Ehren-beschluss für Apollonis in Kyzikos" *ZPE* 29 (1978),p. 213-228,1. 42-48

31 Polybius did indeed consider his father, and therefore implicitly also himself, to be the political successor of Aratos and Philopoimen: cf. Pol., II, 40,2.

32 In the English translation by B. Perrin (Loeb) and the German one by K. Ziegler it is simply rendered as "army" and "Heer" respectively, although, due to the presence of civilians (old people, women and children), it cannot be considered a purely military procession. It would therefore be better to translate it as "all who participated in the procession", see LSJ s.v. στράτευμα.

33 Plutarch's remark, which no doubt originates in Polybius, shows the extent to which the Megalopolitans identified themselves with the deceased leader. But it has not been logically prepared for, and it does not connect thematically with the account of the campaign, since the previous sentences were almost exclusively about the revenge for Philopoimen's death, and not about the power relationships within the Achaean League.

34 The oldest example of ritual sacrifice in funerals comes from Homer, *Mas* XXIII, 171-6. As exceptions, there were sacrifices (if not also human sacrifices) at funerals into the classical period: Cf. R. Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, London, 1985,p. 35. It can be a matter of Homeric influence here, which means that the funeral of Philopoimen was likely deliberately portrayed according to the Homeric model.

35 See Plut., *Alexander*, 1, 2: "For it is not History that I am writing, but Biographies..." (transl. B. Perrin, modified).

36 Regarding the definition of commotion decrees, see R. van Bremen, *The Limits of Participation. Women and civic life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Amsterdam, 1996, p. 156-163 Regarding the chronological and geographical

distribution of the resolutions of consolation, see N. Ehrhardt, "Tod, Trost und Trauer. Zur Funktion griechischer Trostbeschlüsse und Ehrendekrete *post mortem*", *Laverna* 5 (1994), p. 44 sq.

37 These alterations are already discernible since the late Hellenistic period, but not to the same extent and intensity.

38 van Bremen, o.c. (n. 36), p. 161-162.

39 *I.Knidos* 71, 1. 4-13 [transl. van Bremen, o.c. (n. 36), p. 157].

40 van Bremen, o.c. (n. 36), p. 156-163. Resolutions of such a type have survived from Amorgos, Aphrodisias, Kaunos, Knidos, Kyzikos, Kyme, Thessaloniki, Olbia, and Neapel. Some examples: The funerals of Tatia Attalis, (1st/2nd century AD), of a relative of C. Iulius Theopompos (1st/2nd century AD, *I.Knidos* 71), of two unknown women in Aigiale and Arkesine (*BCH* 15 (1891), p. 575 sq.), of a woman from Knidos (*I.Knidos* 72), of Agreophon of Kaunos (2nd century AD), of Herodes Atticus (AD 177, Philostratos, *Vitae Sophistarum*, 565-566); see J.H.M. Strubbe, "Posthumous Honours for Members of the Municipal Elite in Asia Minor, 2nd-3rd cent. A.D.", in *XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina* II, Rom, 1997, p. 489-500.

41 Regarding the so-called "domestication of public life", see P. Veyne, *Le pain et le cirque. Sociologie historique d'un pluralisme politique*, Paris, 1976, p. 185-200; M. Wörrle, "Vom tugendsamen Jüngling zum 'gestreisten' Euergeten. Überlegungen zum Bürgerbild hellenistischer Ehrendekrete", in Wörrle – Zanker, o.c. (n. 13), p. 244; van Bremen, o.c. (n. 36), p. 156-170.

42 van Bremen, o.c. (n. 36), p. 161: "... it is the citizens themselves whose emotions are given an outlet, and who need consoling by way of public participation in the mourning ritual."

43 Vgl. *I.Knidos* 72; P. Herrmann, "Zwei Inschriften von Kaunos und Baba Dag", *Oath* 10 (1971), p. 57 sq., 1. 1-5; *Chaireas and Callirhoe*, 1,5 (transl. B.P. Reardon, *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, Berkeley, 1989): "Rumour ran all over the town, spreading the news of the catastrophe, and arousing cries of grief throughout the narrow streets, right down to the sea... and the whole *demos* as well quickly gathered in the town square, with various excited cries."

44 Philostratos, *Vitae Sophist.*, 565-566.

45 This corresponds to the "seizure of the corpse", just about what is verified in *I.Knidos* 71, l. 10. See also van Bremen, o.c. (n. 36), p. 157-159.

46 *IG* XII 7, 239, 1. 31.

47 Paus., VIII, 51, 5-8.

48 Plut., *Philop.*, 1, 4.

49 See van Bremen, o.c. (n. 36), p. 167-169.

Ritual Criticism and Consolation

Manolis Skountakis

1

Γίγνωσθε δὲ ὡς πᾶσιν ἡμῖν κατθανεῖν ὀφείλεται, “know ye that we all have to die”, says the personified Death, trying to console Admetos in Euripides’ *Alcestis* v. 418-419. No other saying is formulated in as many ways as this.

1

But nobody believes that death is avoidable or that someone can avoid death for the sake of another. Why then do we need such statements? Why should one mourn the death of one’s beloved, or weep loudly upon the tomb or keep grief alive long after death? All these questions come up repeatedly in the genre of consolation.

2

Consolation is an indispensable element in the majority of the “*logoi epitaphioi*” known from Attic oratory. The same is true of Latin oratory too, although later. During the Roman imperial period, consolation was established as its own genre of oratory. From the same era come the first examples of the same genre in another field of the Graeco-roman culture: consolatory inscriptions. In these inscriptions the same topics (in many instances in the same order) are repeated in the same or similar vocabulary.

3

Consolatory speeches and consolatory inscriptions are best understood in the context of public life, since they are both reflections of it. But they are also works of private character too – or so their authors say. Greek and Latin literature of the imperial period provides several examples of this genre, such as Plutarch’s *Consolatio*

ad uxorem, the (pseudo-?) Plutarchean *Consolatio ad Apollonium*,

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the pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus*, Seneca's *Ad Polybium de consolatione*, the third Book of Lucretius' *De rerum natura* and the first Book of Cicero's *Tusculanae disputationes*.

4

In these private consolations funerary rituals or mourning customs are discussed. In the majority of these instances this "discussion" turns out to be sharp criticism,

3

a device aiming at consolation. Space confines me to discussing in full in this context only one of the two transmitted Greek consolatory works of the imperial period, Plutarch's *Consolatio ad uxorem*, although passages from the *ad Apollonium* will be cited where useful. Finally, I will compare this theme in Plutarch with its appearance in consolatory decrees and epigrams of a specific genre.

I.

5

Plutarch's *Consolatio ad uxorem* was written to console his wife for the loss of their daughter Timoxena, who died at the age of two (610e).

4

Plutarch's family had already suffered the deaths of two sons: the eldest one and another named Chaireas (609d). Plutarch begins as follows:

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Plutarch to his wife, best wishes. The messenger you sent to report the death of our little child seems to have missed me on the way as he travelled to Athens; but when I came to Tanagra I learned of it from my granddaughter. Now the funeral, I suppose, has already been held-and my desire is that it has been so held as to cause you the least pain, both now and hereafter; but if you want to do something that you are leaving undone while you await my decision, something that you believe will make your grief easier to bear, that too will be done *without excess or superstition*, to which you are not at all prone. (2) Only, my dear wife, in your emotion keep me as well as yourself within bounds. For I know and can set a measure to the magnitude of the loss, taken by itself; but if I find you exceeding all reasonable bounds in grief, this will annoy me more than what has happened.

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6

Plutarch warns his wife against excess, superstition and extravagant distress. His argument appeals to the emotions, since he says that this kind of attitude of his wife towards the loss of their little girl will cause *him* more grief. Nevertheless, περιεργία, δεισιδαιμονία and ὑπερβολή are, according to Plutarch, the common practice of the times, and should be avoided. This point becomes obvious in another passage of the same work:

[...] such was the self possession with which you kept order in your household at a time that gives a great scope to disorderly confusion..

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7

Such dioxauia was quite regular, emerging from the way people performed burial and mourning customs. Excess was common in the realms of clothing, the manner of singing mourning-songs, hair, and preparation for burial. Demurring from the extravagant display of emotion will disappoint, or even inspire the disapproval, of the community:

This also those who were present report and wonder at the fact that you have not even put on mourning, that you did not subject yourself or your women to any uncomeliness or insulting treatment.

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8

Plutarch continues to harp on this theme of restraint, struggling to keep his argument on strictly logical lines (609b: τί γὰρ ἀλογώτερον ἤ;):

Or (is it) more unreasonable ... for some husbands to quarrel with their wives about scented unguent for the hair and the purples, but to permit them to crop their heads in mourning, to dye their clothes black, to sit in an uncomely posture and lie in discomfort?

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9

Plutarch expands:

At the beginning ... each person takes grief in of his own accord. But once it has fixed itself with the passing of time and become his companion and his household intimate, it will not leave him even if he greatly wants it. We must, therefore, struggle to keep it at the door and must not let it in to be quartered on us by wearing mourning or cropping the hair or by any other manifestations of the kind that, confronting the mind daily and shaming it into submission, make it dispirited, cramped shut in, deaf to all soothing attempts, and a prey to vain terrors ...

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Plutarch goes on to denounce the loud lamentations of women. This does not help to relieve the pain of loss. To the contrary:

But of course what is most grave and causes a great terror in such a case holds no terrors for me: 'the visits of pernicious women' and their cries and their chiming in with lamentations, with which they polish and sharpen the edge of pain, and do not allow our grief to subside either from other influences or from itself; for I know what struggles you recently sustained when you went to the support of Theon's sister and fought off the assaults of the women who came from the world outside with wailing and screaming, just as if they were adding 'fire to fire'.

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11

Examining this passage we noticed that lamentation is characterised by the superlative μέγιστον καὶ φοβερώτατον (sc. κακόν). The scene with Theon's sister reminds us of the struggle in a battlefield. The terminology is characteristic and the phraseology rhetorically elaborated: ἀγῶνας ἡγωνίσω – βοηθοῦσα καὶ μαχομένη – ταῖς ἐπιούσαις – πῦρ ἐπὶ πῦρ φερούσαις. The whole is a kind of grandiose *figura etymologica*, which attempts to reproduce a real battlefield. And Plutarch has already laid the groundwork with other military metaphors: 609c (5) οὕτ' ἐκείνης ἐδέξησε τῆς μάχης, and 609f-610 δεῖ μάχεσθαι περὶ θύρας καὶ μὴ προσίεσθαι φρουρὰν. This rhetorical device functions in two ways. First, it depicts the struggle to resist and to survive under dire circumstances. But the same time it hints that these rituals are so deep seated

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as to be extremely difficult to ignore. Therefore Plutarch's next exhortation to his wife:

[...] do not consider the present tears and lamentations of the visitors, a performance dictated by a pernicious habit and rehearsed to any sufferer ...

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Here Plutarch's criticism is more straightforward. Lamentation is characterised as φαῦλον (pernicious).

14

But the participle περαιομένης ("rehearsed") places Plutarch's emphasis on the unacceptable way the ritual is performed, not upon the ritual itself. Plutarch reiterates that lamentation is a failure of self-control (σωφροσύνη), the ultimate sin against the cardinal

Greek virtue:

[...] whereas the never-sated passion for lamentation, a passion which incites us and leads us to wailing and beating the breast, is no less shameful than incontinence in pleasures ... For what is more unreasonable than to diminish excess of laughter and jubilation, but, on the other hand, allow free course to the torrents of weeping and wailing the burst forth from the same source?

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13

Lamentation is also irrational, as Plutarch warns his wife a few lines later:

16

[...] because when a little natural feeling of a great deal commingles with vain opinion mourning becomes wild, frenzied and difficult to calm.

14

As Plutarch warned his wife in the previous passage excessive lamentation is *αλογον* (irrational). This adjective and its derivatives and similar words are used constantly in this context.

17

The best way to relieve the pain of loss, is to try to rationalize the event, as is stated in *ad Apollonium*: “Reason is the best remedy for the cure of grief, reason and the preparation through reason for all the changes of life.”

18

Lamentation and the whole class of funerary rituals lack this rationalizing quality. These rituals could also be a serious threat to health.

19

This unhappy state leads to neglect of the body and aversion to ointment, the bath and the other usages of our daily life. Exactly the contrary should happen since the soul should be helped in its own suffering by a vigorous condition of the body. For its distress loses much of its keenness and intensity when dissipated in the calm of the body, as weaves are dispersed in fear weather; whereas if the body is allowed to squalid and unkempt from a mean way of life, and if it sends up to the soul nothing benign or useful, but only pains and sorrows, like acrid and noisy exhalations, the sufferings that take possession of the soul when it has undergone such ill-usage are so serious that an easy recovery is no longer possible even if desired.

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A close examination of the vocabulary, especially the adjectives, used

by Plutarch in this passage to describe the consequences of immoderate grief reveals another rhetorical device, related to the battle metaphor, discussed above. In the third paragraph he tries to convince his wife that the fact, that their daughter was a delight to them while she lived, should not cause them grief now that they have lost her: “But I cannot find any reason, my dear wife, why these things and the like, after delighting us while she lived, should now distress and *dismay* us as we take thought of them.”

21

Another passage hints at the significance of the word συνταράσσειν: “for not only in *Bacchic riot* must the virtuous woman remain uncorrupted; but she must hold that *the tempest and tumult of her emotion in grief requires continence* no less...”

22

Here we recognise an allusion to Euripides’ *Bacchae*: “For even in Bacchic riot / the virtuous woman will not be corrupted.”

23

A few lines later Plutarch’s criticism turns against the “*never sated passion for lamentation*” and “*incontinence in pleasures*”

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and at 609e-f against the mothers who, after the death of their young children, “*give themselves up to an unwarranted and ungrateful grief,*

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and further on against *μενὴ δόξα* which “*makes their mourning wild, frenzied, and difficult to calm*”,

26

and finally against whoever being in grief “*sits patiently and allows anyone who happens to pass by to meddle with his suffering as with a rheumatic sore and to impassion it (lit. render it wild).*”

27

He insists that the only remedy for the sudden “changes due to fortune” is “correct reasoning.”

28

Otherwise they will cause “serious moral deviations and a *failing away destructive of life.*”

29

What the above passages have in common is allusion to disastrous emotion that cannot be *controlled*. Using terms like *ταραχή*, *κίνημα*, *πάθος*, *αγριον*, *βάκχευμα* he paints this emotion with Dionysiac

colours. And in so doing Plutarch draws upon the oldest – most primitive – profile of this god, still carrying the symbols of *μανία* and ecstasy, connoting “dissolution”, “fusing of boundaries” and “uncontrolled emotions”. This was the aspect of Dionysos explored by Euripides in his *Bacchai*, and stands in sharp opposition to another aspect of the Dionysian cult related to a particular concept of the afterlife, as few paragraphs later is stated. Plutarch draws upon this other, gentler Dionysus as well (perhaps confirming that he had Dionysus on his mind?), when almost at the end of his consolatory letter, he advises his wife to keep herself in the limits “of the teaching of the fathers and the mystic formulas of the Dionysiac rites, the knowledge of which we who are participants share with each other.”

30

Whatever he may mean by these “Dionysiac rites”, they have to do with the milder version of this god, the version demanding controlled emotions and limits.

17

We have seen how extravagant grief can cause also bodily disorders. Nor, according to Plutarch, is grief the only realm in which men are prone to break the limits, to transgress the Delphic maxim *μηδὲν ἄγαν*. In the Hellenistic period extravagance and luxury in burial ritual probably go hand in hand with another aspect of public life: *φαίνεσθαι* (showing off), theatricality.

31

It was not enough to be good, one must be seen to be good. In the Roman period, Lucian notes a similar phenomenon in funerary rituals (*de luctu*). In chapter 12, after discussing the immoderate behaviour of women (and perhaps not only women) at funerals, he gives an ironical description of the corpse:

[...] while he, all serene and handsome and *excessively decked* with wreaths, lies in lofty, exalted state, *adorned as for a procession*.

32

18

This kind of extravagance Plutarch criticises sharply twice in his letter:

[...] and there was no sumptuous display, like that of a festival, at the burial, but that everything was done with modesty and in silence, in the company of our nearest kin. But this was no surprise to me, that you, who have never adorned yourself out at theatre or procession,

but have regarded extravagance as useless for amusements, should have preserved in the hour of grief your self-contenance and simplicity. But we, my dear wife, in our relations with each other have had no occasion for the one quarrel, nor I think, shall we have any other for the other. For, on the one hand, your plainness of attire and sober style of living has without exception amazed every philosopher who has shared our society and intimacy, neither is there any townsman of ours to whom at religious ceremonies, sacrifices and the theatre you do not offer your own simplicity as another spectacle.

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19

Lucian brings out even more explicitly the theatricality to which Plutarch alludes (οὐδὲ τῶν πολιτῶν ὃ μὴ θέαμα παρέχεις ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ θεάτροις τὴν σεαυτῆς ἀφέλειαν):

Then his mother, or, o Zeus, his father, comes *forward from among* the family and throws himself upon him; and let us imagine a handsome young man upon the bier, so that *the show that is acted* over him may be the more moving. The father utters strange and vain outcries ... The father says *in plaintive tone, protracting every word* ...

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Lucian elaborates his theatrical terminology further in the next chapters of *de luctu*: “but as to the old man...it is not, in all probability, on account of his son that he does all this melodramatic ranting...nor yet is it on his own account

35

. A few lines after Lucian refers to the participants’ sense that they are playing to an audience: “Consequently it is on account of the others present that he talks this nonsense ...

36

21

In an age when spectacle and extravagance dominated all areas of public life, Plutarch’s wife offered her simplicity as “spectacle” – an antispectacle – to their townsmen. So also the orator Demosthenes, who according to his enemy Aeschines, 3, 77 “On the seventh day after his daughter’s death, before he had mourned for her or performed the customary rites, putting on a garland and resuming his white apparel, he offered a sacrifice in public and violated all custom, when he had lost, poor wretch, his only daughter, who was the first child to address him as father”.

22

Paragraph 33 of the *Consolatio ad Apollonium* is a long list of famous

persons “who nobly and high-mindedly and calmly have been resigned to the deaths which have befallen their sons”. All these men are clearly exceptions to the rule. Great was the contrast between the behaviour of the πολλοί and the ὀλίγοι, as Plutarch stressed to his wife in the *ad uxorem*. Excessive mourning was the province of the vulgar many rather than the elite few. The criterion for distinguishing these two groups is not only financial.

37

Adjectives like εὐγενής, μεγαλόφρων, λιτός and nouns such as εὐστάθεια and ἀφέλεια are indicative of mental, intellectual wealth. Plutarch’s exhortation to his wife to think logically and reasonably is at the same time an exhortation to abstain from the practices of those financially or morally common.

23

Recapitulating, it should be emphasized that Plutarch’s criticism tends to be focused not on funerary rituals themselves but rather on the manner of their performance.

||.

24

Now to compare Plutarch’s views with the sentiments expressed in consolatory epigraphy. The birth of the consolatory decree coincides less or more with the beginning of the imperial period and this new genre flourished modestly, mostly in Asia Minor, until the end of the era, although inscriptions of this type never became common.

38

The genre finds its origins in posthumous honorific inscriptions.

39

The language of these inscribed consolations consists, almost without exception, of formulae. First comes a short passage of praise for the dead and a mention of his or her age; if the honorand is a benefactor, a list of benefactions follows; if a public official, a list of his services to his country. Then, usually in next place, the posthumous honours which the honorand will receive. In most cases, these honours consisted of a golden crown and a declaration that the population of the city would participate (or had already participated) in the procession on the way to the cemetery.

40

Last comes the “paramytheia” which is almost always wholly formulaic.

25

The existence of these inscriptions is to be understood in the context of the so-called “domestication of public life”, often said, on the basis of literary and epigraphical evidence, to characterize this period.

41

This cultural tendency is manifested in inscriptions by expressions like πατήρ / μήτηρ / υἱὸς τῆς πόλεως (“father / mother / son of the city”). The fact that in a consolatory decree the city takes the place of a family member and consoles the family of the deceased is to be recognised as another reflection of this trend (cf. A. Chaniotis in this volume). The vocabulary used confirms this. The decision to honour the dead is almost always taken ὁμοθυμαδόν (“with one soul”), exactly as the members of a family would do. The citizens of the town participated / or will participate in the burial procession πανδημί (“altogether”). These two words rarely appear in inscriptions of other types.

42

26

Although consolatory letters like Plutarch’s belong in principle to the sphere of the private and consolatory decrees to the public sphere they share a common rhetoric: communication of grief, consolation by sharing misery.

43

Take the phrase at the beginning of *ad uxorem*: “Only, my wife, in your emotion keep me as well as yourself within bounds. For I know and can set a measure to the magnitude of the loss, taken by itself”.

44

27

Firstly, it is declared that the town feels condolence for the loss of one of its excellent members. Therefore, the family should not feel alone in the pain, which they experienced. Then follows a formulaic exhortation of the sort φέρειν ἀνθρωπίνως τὰς συμβεβηκυίας αὐτοῖς συμφοράς (“to bear the calamities which have occurred in the manner appropriate to the mortals”). The phrase ἀνθρωπίνως φέρειν τὸ συμβεβηγὲς (“to bare fate within human limits”), which recurs in the consolatory decrees, is an exhortation to think reasonably: “think that we are all *human beings*, and this means that

we all *have* to die.”

45

|||.

28

A parallel category to that of the posthumous honorary decree is the inscribed funerary epigram. This genre of popular poetry has a long tradition. A special group of such inscribed epigrams emerges at the dawn of the imperial period and shares a common history with the consolatory decree. The majority of them are dated between the 1st and the late 3rd or 4th century AD. A common theme in these little poems is that of the *mors immatura*.

46

But what sets these poems aside from other funerary epigrams is their consolatory purpose: they speak in the voice of the deceased bringing consolation to the living. These epigrams tend to read very similarly:

My mother, leave off lamentations, cease to mourn and cut yourself;
Hades turns pity aside.

47

29

And a second:

... but cease now with the lamentation, my beloved mother
Primigene, expel the sorrow, which bites your heart;
as a consolation for my loss, put in your mind
the following; the children of the immortals, too, went down to Hades.

48

30

In the first epigram the deceased exhorts her mother to leave off lamentation, cease mourning and cutting herself in grief. Ἀποπαύομαι means “put an end to something already started”. The poem presupposes that the mother has been lamenting the loss. This is what both human nature and ritual require. What the child seeks to prevent is lamentation, which lasts longer than it should. Again, it is not the ritual that is here criticised, but its excessive performance. Plutarch says in his *ad uxorem* that if he finds any *extravagance of distress* in his wife, it will be more grievous to him than the loss itself.

49

Another epigram treats the same theme:

Now give over sorrowing grievously about the house.
Though I am dead, this is my dearest wish.

50

31

Ἦδη in the first position strives for emphasis: “You have already mourned too much; enough already”. Not the mourning itself but the *lack of limits* is criticised.

32

According to Plutarch reason (λόγος) is the best road to consolation. The epigrams make similar appeals. Mythological exempla like οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἡρακλῆα τὸν ὃς φίλος ἀθανάτοισιν | εὖγμασιν Ἀλκμήνα ῥύσατο τηρόμενον, “Alcmene’s prayers could not save even Heracles beloved of the gods from death”,

51

which so often recur in this group of epigrams, aim at persuading the mourner to think logically. In the inscription from Teos, θῆσθε ἐμ φρεσί (“put in your mind”) should certainly be understood in the same sense.

33

We have seen so far that Plutarch and the epigrams criticize not ritual but its excessive performance. But some of these consolatory epigrams seem to go further. But first an epigram from Syrian Antioch:

Damoneikos has built this tomb, Apollonios,
the consort of your daughter,
for you, his father in law, and with drink-offerings over your tomb
and with yearly flower-crowns
tries to appease you, not without tears. Indeed, in many instances
do the sons in law carry out the duties of the children.

52

34

At this case we have to do probably with a case of under-performing posthumous rituals. Damoneikos complains that he, as son in law, has had to built the tomb and perform the rituals that the children of the deceased have neglected. This can hardly be read as other than a reproach to the sons of the deceased. But the epigram gives also a good account of what should be expected as a proper honour for the deceased. Some of this class of epigram straightforwardly criticize ritual itself, something Plutarch had not done:

Don’t offer myrrh-oil or crowns to the gravestone; it’s only a stone;
don’t light a fire either; you will spend your money in vain;

If you have something to give me, give it to me, when I'm still alive; if
you
drown the ashes with wine,
you will turn them into mud and the dead will not drink anyway.

53

35

Here the regular honours to the dead are condemned as vain profiting neither the living nor the dead. The epigram recalls a passage in Lucian's *de luctu*, where a young boy is fancifully presented mocking his father, who loudly mourns his death:

[But, what good do you think I get] from the wreathed stone above my grave? Or what is the use of your pouring out the pure wine? Or do you think that it will drip down to where we are and get all the way through to Hades? As to the burnt offerings, you yourselves see, I think, that the most nutritious part of your provender is carried off up to Heaven by the smoke without doing us in the lower world the least bit of good, and that what is left, the ashes, is useless, unless that you believe that we eat dust ...

54

36

Lucian's tone is sharply ironical and, indeed, not far away from the message of our epigram. They share the same cruel hyperrationality: libations, drink-offerings over the tomb and crowns are addressed to someone, who cannot receive them

55

. Thus the complaint of the epigram: "if you have to give me something, give it to me, when I'm still alive".

IV.

37

The aim of Plutarch's consolatory letter is to console his wife on the loss of their little daughter. In it he expresses no criticism of ritual *per se* but a great deal of criticism on the manner in which his contemporaries perform ritual. The consolatory decree, on the other hand, is an effort to bridge the gap between individual and community. The death of an excellent citizen is another good excuse to bring together people from a different social status. The public procession and the posthumous honours as well as the "eternal fame" of the deceased consist the δημόσια παραμυθία to the family. At this case traditional customs and rituals step upon a more solid

ground. The consolatory inscribed epigrams in general cleave close to the conventions of the genre as manifested in Plutarch and the consolatory decrees. But in a few instances they turn out to be more “radical” in their sentiments. Are we to recognise the influence of a particular philosophical doctrine or rather a mixture of doctrines? Or have these poems been more influenced by the tradition of epigram than the genre of consolation? J. Strubbe argues for an infiltration of consolatory themes in the epigrams from literary consolations, which again may have included ideas from philosophical literature.

56

Another hypothesis has been proposed by H.W. Pleket who thinks that certain philosophical ideas found their way in the upper classes of the cities through the lectures of wandering philosophers.

57

I find Pleket’s thesis more plausible; it offers an explanation for the diverse consolatory themes documented in epigrams, which often are not so much products of the elite itself but rather reflections of the reception of elite mentality by other classes.

Notes

1 About this common place, see H. Wankel, “Alle Menschen müssen sterben”, *Hermes* 111 (1983), p. 129-154.

2 The authenticity of this work has often been disputed, but it is a matter of minor importance for our analysis and therefore will not be considered. The best study on this work with a brilliant commentary of the text is R. Kassel’s *Untersuchungen zur griechischen und römischen Konsolationsliteratur*, Munich, 1958 (*Zetemata*, 18).

3 More than aggressive toward these rituals and their praxis is Lucian in his *deluctu*.

4 Commentary by M. Pinnoy, “Plutarchus’ *Consolatio ad uxorem*”, *Kleio* 9 (1979), p. 65-86 (in Dutch, *non vidi*); see also Th. H. Johann, *Trauer und Trost. Eine quellen- und strukturanalytische Untersuchung der philosophischen Trostschriften über den Tod*, Munich, 1968 (*Studia et Testimonia antiqua*, 5).

5 Text and translation with modifications from the loeb-Editions: for the *Consolatio ad uxorem*: *Plutarch’s Moralia*, vol. VII, transl. by Ph.H. de lacy; for *Consolatio ad Apollonium*: vol. II, transl. by F.C. Babbitt.

6 Plut., *Mor.*, 608b: Πλούταρχος τῇ γυναικί εὖ πράττειν. δν ἐπεμψας ἀπαγγελοῦντα περί τῆς τοῦ παιδίου τελευτῆς ἔοικε διημαρτημέναι καθ' ὁδόν εἰς Ἀθήνας πορευόμενος. ἐγὼ δὲ εἰς Τανάγραν ἐλθὼν ἐπυθόμην παρὰ τῆς θυγατριδῆς. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν ταφὴν ἤδη νομίζω γεγονέναι, γεγονότα δὲ ἐχέτω ὥς σοι μέλλει καὶ νῦν ἀλυπότατα καὶ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξειν. εἰ δέ τι βουλομένη μὴ πεποίηκας ἀλλὰ μένεις τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην, οἶει δὲ κουφότερον οἶσιν γενομένου, καὶ τοῦτο ἔσται δίχα πάσης περιεργίας καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας, ὣν ἥκιστα σοι μέτεστι. 608c (2) μόνον, ὦ γύναι, τήρει κάμει τῷ πάθει καὶ σεαυτὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ καθεστῶτος, ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸ μὲν οἶδα καὶ ὑρίζω τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἡλικίον ἐστίν, ἂν δὲ σὲ τῷ δυσφορεῖν ὑπερβάλλουσιν εἴρω, τοῦτό μοι μᾶλλον ἐνοχλήσει τοῦ γεγονότος.

7 Plut., *ad uxor.*, 608e. οὕτω σωφρόνως κατεκὸςμηςας τὸν οἶκον ἐν καιρῷ πολλὴν ἀκοσμίας ἐξουσίαν διδόντι.

8 Plut., *ad uxor.*, 608f 4: καὶ τοῦτο λέγουσιν οἱ παραγενόμενοι καὶ θαυμάζουσιν, ὥς οὐδὲ ἱμάτιον ἀνείληφας πένθιμον οὐδὲ σαύτῃ τινα προσήγαγες ἢ θεραπευσίν ἀμορφίαν καὶ αἰκίαν ...

9 Plut., *ad uxor.*, 609c: καὶ περὶ μύρου μὲν ἐνίους καὶ πορφύρας διαμάχεσθαι ταῖς γυναιξί, κουρὰς δὲ συγχωρεῖν πενθίμους καὶ βαφὰς ἐσθήτος μελαίνας καὶ καθίσεις ἀμόρφους καὶ κατακλίσεις ἐπιπόνους;

10 Plut., *ad uxor.*, 609f-610: ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν οὖν οὕτω τοῦτο γινόμενόν ἐστιν. αὐτὸς γὰρ ἕκαστος εἰσάγει τὸ πένθος ἐφ' ἑαυτόν, ὅταν δὲ ἰδρυνθῇ χρόνῳ καὶ γένηται σύντροφον καὶ σύνοικον, οὐδὲ πάνυ βουλομένων ἀπαλλάττεται. διὸ δεῖ μάχεσθαι περὶ θύρας αὐτῷ καὶ μὴ προσίεσθαι φρουρὰν δι' ἐσθήτος ἢ κουρὰς ἢ ἄλλου τῶν τοιούτων ἃ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀπαντῶντα καὶ δυσωποῦντα μικρὰν καὶ στενὴν καὶ ἀνέξοδον καὶ ἀμείλικτον καὶ ψοφοδεῇ ποιεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν...

11 Plut., *ad uxor.*, 610b (7): καὶ μὴν ὃ γε μέγιστον ἐν τούτῳ καὶ φοβερώτατον ἐστὶν οὐκ ἂν φοβηθεῖν, καινῶν γυναικῶν εἰσόδους καὶ φωνὰς καὶ συνειπρηγήσεις αἷς ἐκτρίβουσι καὶ παραθήγουσι τὴν λύπην, οὐθ' ὑπ' αἰλλων οὐτε αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐῶσαι μαρανθῆναι. γινώσκω γὰρ ποίους ἔναγχος ἀγῶνας ἡγωνίσω τῇ Θέωνος ἀδελφῇ βοηθοῦσα καὶ μαχομένη ταῖς μετὰ ὀλοφυρμῶν καὶ ἀλαλαγμῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπιούσαις ὥσπερ ἀτεχνῶς πῦρ ἐπὶ πῦρ φερούσαις..

12Cf. Lucian, *de luctu*, 10: ταῦτα οὕτως ἰσχυρῶς περιέληλυθε τοὺς πολλοὺς ὥστε... (“So excessively are people taken in by all this that ...”). Translation, adapted, by A.M. Harmon, *Lucian*, vol. IV, 1969⁴[1925].

13 Plut., *ad uxor.*, 611a-b: [...] μὴ σκόπει τὰ νῦν δάκρυα καὶ τὰς ἐπιπρηγήσεις τῶν εἰσιόντων, ἔθει τινὶ φαύλῳ περαιομένης πρὸς ἕκαστον...

14Cf. *ad Apollonium*, 102b (3): τὸ δὲ πέρα τοῦ μέτρου παρεκφέρεσθαι καὶ συναυξεῖν τὰ πένθη παρὰ φύσιν εἶναι φημι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν φαύλης γίγνεσθαι δόξης (“but to be carried beyond all bounds and consciously in exaggerating our griefs I think it is contrary to nature, and results from our

depraved opinions”). But see Lucian, *de luctu*, 1: νόμω δὲ καὶ συνήθεια τὴν λύπην ἐπιτρέποντες (“no, they simply commit their grief into the charge of custom and habit”).

15 Plut., *ad uxor.*, 609b: ἡ δὲ θρήνων ἀπληστος ἐπιθυμία καὶ πρὸς ὀλοφύρσεις ἐξάγουσα καὶ νοπετοὺς αἰσχροὺς μὲν οὐχ ἦττον τῆς περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀκρασίας ... τί γὰρ ἀλογώτερον ἢ τὸ γέλωτος μὲν ὑπερβολὰς καὶ περιχαρείας ἀφαιρεῖν, τοῖς δὲ κλαυθμῶν καὶ ὀδυρμῶν ῥεύμασι, ἐκ μιᾶς πηγῆς φερομένων, εἰς ἅπαν ἐφίεναι;

16 Plut., *ad uxor.*, 609e-f: [...] μικρῷ τῷ φυσικῷ πάθει πολὺ συγκεραννύμενον τὸ πρὸς κενὴν δόξαν ἄγρια ποιεῖ καὶ μανικὰ καὶ δυσεξίλαστα τὰ πένθη.

17 Plut., *ad uxor.*, 608c: οἶδα καὶ ὀρίζω; 608f: εἰκὸς ἐστί (for a logical conclusion); 609a: σῶφρονα; 609e (6): εὐλόγιστον; 611a (9): ὀρθῶν ἐπιλογισμῶν; 611e: διανοοῦ. *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, 102e: εὐλόγιστος; 103a: τῆς γὰρ εὐλογιστίας ἔργον, φρόνησις, φρονήσεως; 103e: ἀφροσύνην; 108a: φρονῆσαι; 108c: τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀφροσύνης; 112d: λόγος; 114e: ἀλογιστίας, ἀνοίας; 114d: λογιζοιντο, προσαναλογίζονται; 116b: φρένας ἔχοντος ἀνθρώπου; 117a: ἡ διὰ τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν ἄνοια καὶ παραφροσύνη.

18 Plut., *ad Apollonium*, 203f (6): κρᾶτιστον δὴ πρὸς ἀλυπίαν φάρμακον ὁ λόγος καὶ ἡ διὰ τούτου παρασκευὴ πρὸς πάσας τὰς τοῦ βίου μεταβολὰς. See Kassel, o.c. (n. 2), p. 66.

19 Cf. *ad Apollonium*, 102a: παρειμένω τό τε σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ τῆς παραλόγου συμφορᾶς, “when you have abandoned both body and soul because of the unexpected calamity”.

20 Plut., *ad uxor.*, 610a-b: ἀμέλειαι δὲ σώματος ἔπονται τῷ κακῷ τούτῳ καὶ διαβολαὶ πρὸς ἄλειμμα καὶ λουτρὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν. ὧν πᾶν τούναντίον ἔδει τὴν ψυχὴν πονουσαν αὐτὴν βοηθεῖσθαι διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἔρρωμένου. πολὺ γὰρ ἀμβλύνεται καὶ χαλᾶται τοῦ λυποῦντος, ὥσπερ ἐν εὐδία κῦμα, τῇ γαλήνῃ τοῦ σώματος διαχεόμενον, ἐὰν δὲ αὐχμὸς ἐγγένηται καὶ τραχύτης ἐκ φαύλης διαίτης καὶ μηδὲν εὐμενὲς μηδὲ χρηστὸν ἀναπέμψῃ τὸ σῶμα τῇ ψυχῇ πλὴν ὀδύνας καὶ λύπας, ὥσπερ τινὰς πίκρας καὶ δυσχερεῖς ἀναθυμιάσεις, οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ἔτι ῥαδίως ἀναλαβεῖν ἐστίν. τοιαῦτα λαμβάνει πάθη τὴν ψυχὴν οὕτω κακωθεῖσαν.

21 Plut., *ad uxor.*, 608d (3): ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὀρῶ, γύναι, διὰ τί ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ζώσης μὲν ἔτερπεν ἡμᾶς, νυνὶ δὲ ἀνιάσει καὶ συνταράζει λαμβάνοντας ἐπίνοιαν αὐτῶν. Cf. 610e-f: ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοιούτοις ὁ μάλιστα τῆς μνήμης τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπαρυστόμενος καὶ τοῦ βίου πρὸς τὰ φωτεινὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ μεταστρέφων καὶ μεταφέρων ἐκ τῶν σκοτεινῶν καὶ ταρακτικῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἢ παντάπασιν ἔσβεσε τὸ λυποῦν ἢ τῇ πρὸς τούναντίον μίξει μικρὸν καὶ ἁμαυρὸν ἐποίησεν (“while in circumstances like these he who in greatest measure draws upon his memory of past goods and turns his thought toward the bright and joyous part of his life, averting it from the dark and disturbing part, either extinguishes his pain entirely, or by combining it with its opposite,

renders it slight and faint”).

22 Plut., *ad uxor.*, 609: οὐ γὰρ ἐν βακχεύμασιν δεῖ μόνον τὴν σώφρονα μένειν ἀδιάφθορον, ἀλλὰ μὴδὲν ἥττον οἶεσθαι τὸν ἐν πένθεσι σάλον καὶ τὸ κίνημα τοῦ πάθους ἐγκρατείας δεῖσθαι.

23 Eur., *Bacch.*, 317-318: καὶ γὰρ ἐν βακχεύμασιν | οὐς ἢ γε σώφρων οὐ διαφθαρήσεται.

24 Θρήνων ἄλληστος ἐπιθυμία and περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀκρασία.

25 ἐνχεομένας εἰς κενὸν καὶ ἀχάριστον πένθος.

26 ἄγρια ποιεῖ καὶ μανικὰ καὶ δυσεξίλαστα τὰ πένθη.

27 Plut., *ad uxor.*, 610d: ὁ δὲ πένθων κάθηται παντὶ τῷ προστυχόντι παρέχων ὥσπερ ῥεῦμα κινεῖν καὶ διαγριαίνειν τὸ πάθος.

28 Plut., *ad uxor.*, 609: ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ὀρθῶν ἐπιλογισμῶν εἰς εὐσταθῆ διάθεσιν τελευτώντων ἥρτηται τὸ μακάριον, αἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης τροπαὶ μεγάλας οὐ ποιοῦσιν ἀποκλίσεις οὐδὲ ἐπιφέρουσι συγχυτικὰς ὀλισθήσεις τοῦ βίου.

29 Cf. n. 28.

30 Plut., *ad uxor.*, 61 Id (10): ὁ πάτριος λόγος καὶ τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμῶν, ἃ σύνισμεν ἀλλήλοις οἱ κοιωνοῦντες.

31 See A. Chaniotis, “Theatricality Beyond the Theatre: Staging Public Life in the Hellenistic World”, *Pallas* 41 (1997), p. 219-257.

32 Lucian, *de luctu*, 12: ὁ δ' εὐσχήμων καὶ καλὸς καὶ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐστεφανωμένος ὑψηλὸς πρόκειται καὶ μετέωρος ὥσπερ εἰς πομπὴν κεκοσμημένος.

33 Plut., *ad uxor.*, 608f-609: [...]οὐδὲ ἦν παρασκευὴ πολυτελείας πανηγυρικῆς περὶ τὴν ταφὴν, ἀλλ' ἐπράττετο κοσμίως πάντα καὶ σιωπῇ μετὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐθαύμαζον, εἰ μὴδέποτε καλλωπισαμένη περὶ θέατρον ἢ πομπήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὰς ἄχρηστον ἡγήσαμένη τὴν πολυτέλειαν, ἐν τοῖς σκυθρωποῖς διεφυλαξας τὸ ἀσφαλὲς καὶ λιτὸν...; Cf. 609c and d: ἀλλ' ἡμῖν γε, γύναι, πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐτ' ἐκείνης ἐδέησε τῆς μάχης οὔτε ταύτης οἶμαι δεήσιν. εὐτέλελλία μὲν γὰρ τῇ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀθρυφία τῇ περὶ δίαίταν οὐδεὶς ἐστι τῶν φιλοσόφων δν οὐκ ἐξέπληξας ἐν ομιλίᾳ καὶ συνηθείᾳ γενόμενον ἡμῖν, οὐδὲ τῶν πολιτῶν ὧ μὴ θέαμα παρέχεις ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ θεάτροις τὴν σεαυτῆς ἀψέλειαν.

34 Lucian, *de luctu*, 13: εἴθ' ἢ μήτηρ ἢ καὶ νῆ Δία ὁ πατήρ ἐκ μέσων τῶν συγγενῶν προελθὼν καὶ περιχυθεὶς αὐτῷ – προκείσθω γάρ τις νέος καὶ καλός, ἵνα καὶ ἀκμαιότερον τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δρᾶμα ᾗ – φωνὰς ἀλλοκότους καὶ ματαίας ἀφήσι ... φήσει γὰρ ὁ πατήρ γοερὸν τι φθεγγόμενος καὶ παρατείνων ἔκαστον τῶν ὀνομάτων...

35 Lucian, *de luctu*, 15: ὁ δ' οὖν πρεσβύτης ... οὔτε τοῦ παιδὸς ἔνεκα τραγωδεῖν ἔοικεν ... οὔτε μὴν αὐτοῦ.

36 *Ibid.*: λοιπὸν οὖν ἐστὶν αὐτὸν τῶν παρόντων ἔνεκα ταῦτα ληρεῖν.

37 J.H.M. Strubbe, “Epigrams and consolation decrees for deceased youths”, *AC* 67 (1998), p. 45-75, esp. 56: “The words of Plutarch and his fellow philosophers may

have obtained a good hearing with the elite in the cities ... because these words corresponded with aristocratic ethics. According to Plutarch, the masses of people are weak of mind and fall short of education and mental training; therefore they will never be able to attend *metriopatheia* by reason. The majority is carried along by excessive grief. Firmness in grief on the contrary is a distinguishing mark of the wise man (σώφρων), of the noble (γενναῖος). The latter term is continuously used in the *Consolatio ad Apollonium* (for example, § 4: πεπαιδευμένων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ σωφρόνων ἀνδρῶν ... πρὸς τὰς ἀτυχίας φυλάξαι γενναίως τὸ πρέπον), while excessive grief is frequently qualified by Plutarch as not noble (ἀγεννῆς; § 22; 24).

38 See, K. Buresch, "Die griechischen Trostinschriften", *RhM* 49 (1894), p. 424-460; O. gottwald, "Zu den griechischen Trostbeschlüssen", *Commentationes Vindobonenses* 3 (1937), p. 5-19; L. robert, "Ulpia Heraclea de la Sabaké", in *Hellenica* 3, Paris, 1946, p. 15 sq.; *id.*, "D'Aphrodisias a la Lycaonie", in *Hellenica* 13, Paris 1965, p. 229 sq.; *id.*, "Enterrements et épitaphes", *AC* 37 (1968), p. 406 sq. (= *Opera Minora Selecta* VI [1982], p. 82 sq.).

39Buresch, *l.c.* (n. 38), p. 436-440, discusses the possibility that an honorific decree from Synnada in Phrygia figures as an antecedent of the new sort "paramythetic". L. Robert, "Les inscriptions grecques de Bulgarie", *RPh* 33 (1959), p. 217-220, proposes as a predecessor a Hellenistic decree from Mesambria, *IGBulg.* I 2 388.

40 It is worthy to see when each of these inscriptions were decided to be written and then set up. Was it before or after the burial? The time setting is of a great interest since it comes near to the postulate of the "consolation at the right time". Cf. *ad Apollonium*, 102a: τότε μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τὸν τῆς τελευτῆς καιρὸν ἐντυγχάνειν σοὶ καὶ παρακαλεῖνως ἀνθρωπίνως φέρειν τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἀνοίκειον ἦν ("in those days, close upon the time of his death, to visit you and urge you to bear your present lot as a mortal man should would have been unsuitable"). Cf. for example the past tense at *I.Knidos* 71: μετὰ πάσας προθυμίας συνελθὼν εἰς τὸ θέατρον, ἀνία ἐξεκομίσθη, τό τε σῶμα κατέχων αὐτᾶς, ... ἐπεμελεύσατο θάπτειν αὐτὰν πανραμεὶ καὶ ἐπεβόασε...

41 R. van Bremen, *The Limits of Participation. Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Amsterdam, 1996, p. 156-170; J.H.M. Strubbe, "Posthumous honours for members of the municipal elite in Asia Minor, 2nd-3rd cent. AD", in *Proceedings of the XIth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy*, Rome, 1999, p. 497-507, with further bibliographical references; *id.*, "Bürger, Nicht-Bürger und Polis-Ideologie", in K. Demoen (ed.), *The Greek City, from Antiquity to the Present. Historical Reality, Ideological Construction, Literary Representation*, Louvain/Paris, 2001, p. 27-39, esp. p. 34-39.

42 See *e.g.* Strubbe, *l.c.* (n. 37), *passim*. Strubbe, *ibid.*, gives also a full list of the preserved and published consolatory decrees in p. 60-63.

43Cf. *e.g.* W.R. Paton, "Sites in East Caria and South Lydia", *JHS* 20 (1900), p. 73-74, n° 1: εἰς τὸ ἐπικουφίζεσθαι αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς [...μοινων] ἱας τῆς λύπης; *IG* XIV, 760: ὁμολογοῦντας κοινὴν εἶναι λύπην τὴν πρόμοιρον Τεττίας Κά [στας

τελευτήν].

44 Plut., *ad uxor.*, 608c: μόνον, ὧ γύαι, τηεῖ καμὲ τῷ πάθει καὶ σεαυτὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ καθεστῶτος. ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸ μὲν οἶδα καὶ ὀρίζω τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἡλικίον ἐστίν. On this element of compassion see e.g. Strubbe, l.c. (n. 37), p. 66-67.

45 See e.g. MAMA VIII, 412. Cf. also MAMA VIII, 408: εὐθαρσῶς τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος ἐνεγενεῖν (“to bear with courage what has occurred on the account of the divinity.”)

46 A collection of these epigrams is offered by A.-M. Verilhac, *Paides aoroi. Poésie funéraire*, I-II, Athens, 1978-1982. My sources were also G. Kaibel's *Epigrammata Graeca*, Berlin, 1878 and R. Merkelbach, J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten I-V*, Stuttgart/Leipzig, 1998-2004 (= SGO). I give a list (not exhaustive) of the epigrams I have found. Kaibel: Attica: 151.13-14 (“poetam valde recentem arguit oratio”); 153.15-16; Insularum et Asiae: 231.7-8; 246.4-5; 252.5-6 (“I fere p.Chr. n. saec.”); 264.11-13; 266.3 (“litterae infimae aetatis”); 282.2-3; 320.5; 321.10-12 (“haud ita multo post a.171”); Graeciae: 502.4.12 (“prope Thebas. III vel IV saeculi”); 513.3 (“Eretriae Phthiotidis”); Italiae, Galliae, Hispaniae, Germaniae: 546.5-6 (“melioris Notae”); 569-10 (“olim Romae integer lapis, nunc Neapoli fractus. II vel III saeculi”); 570.5-8 (“Romae. II saeculo non recentius”); 624.9-10 (“in Capreis insula. I vel II saeculi”); 651.5-6 (“Scandriglia in vico Sabinorum, nunc Neapoli in museo. II saeculi”). SGO I 01/23/03.4-6 (Herakleia am Latmos, “undatiert”), 03/06/04.15-18 (Teos, 1st/2nd cent. AD); 04/05/06 (Thyateira, “Hohe, vielleicht sogar späte Kaiserzeit”: G. Petzl); 04/08/02 (Daldis. 1st cent. AD?); 04/10/07.8-9 (Iulia Gordos, 2nd AD?); 04/19/03.5-6 (Iaza. 260/1 AD); SGO II 08/01/41 (Kyzikos, Kaiserzeit); 08/01/51.10-11. 17 (Kyzikos, “frühe Kaiserzeit”); 08/06/11.9-10 (Hadrianuthera? / Mittleres Makestos-Tal, “nicht vor 2. Jh. n. Chr.”); 08/08/12.15 (Hadrianoi pros Olympon, “wohl 4/5 Jh. n. Chr.”); 09/01/03.5 (Kios, “3/2 Jh. n. Chr.”); 09/01/04.9? (Kios, “1 Jh. n. Chr.”); 09/02/01.3-4 (Apameia in Bithynien, “unbestimmt”); SGO III 14/04/03.11-15 (Kissia, “nach 312 n. Chr.”); 15/03/03.8 (Pessinus); 16/08/05.6 (Temenuthyai?, “wohl 2. Jh. n. Chr.”); SGO IV 16/31/93 A10-11; D11-12 (Appia oder Soa, 300-350 n. Chr.); 16/31/97.28-29 (Appia); 18/18/01.22-23 (Kolybrassos, 3/4. Jh. n. Chr.); 20/14/06.3-4 (Sidon, Kaiserzeit); 21/24/01.2 (Philadelphia. Kaiserzeit).

47SGO II 09/02/01. 3-4, (Apameia in Bithynia): μῆτερ ἐμῇ, θρήνων ἀποπαύεο, λῆξον ὀδυρμῶν / καὶ κοπετῶν. Αἶδης οἶκτον ἀποστρέφεται. Translation by R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, Urbana, 1942, p. 218.

48SGO I 03/06/04 . 5-18 (Teos, 1st / 2nd cent. AD): ΠΡΩΓΓΑΡΗΔ ἀλλὰ θρήνων, φίλε, παύεο, μῆτερ / Πρειμιγένη, ἀπόθου θυμοδακεῖς ὁδύνας. / τῆς ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ λύπης παραμύθιον ἐμ φρεσὶ θέσθε / τοῦτ’, ὅτι καὶ μακάρων παῖδες ἐνερθεν ἔβαν. Translation mine. In verse 15 I didn’t keep the punctuation by Merkelbach – Stauber. Nor have I translated φρεσί as “Herz”. For the enigmatic ΠΡΩΓΓΑΡΗΔ I think that we should expect something which corresponds to the latin *properans... hora*, the motive of mors *immatura*. W. Peek’s proposal in *Griechische Vers-Inschriften*

I, *GrabEpigramme*, Berlin, 1955, n° 2006, πρωὶ γὰρ ἡδ' – ἀλλὰ goes probably in the right direction but I can not see what is the meaning of ἡδ' and the abruption after it seems to be too elaborate for this bilingual inscription. Could we read πρωὶ τ' ἄρ' ἦν “It was too early for me to die but...?”

49 Plut., *ad uxor.*, 608c: ἄν δέ σε τῷ δυσφορεῖν ὑπερβάλλουσαν εὖρω.

50Kaibel, o.c. (n. 46), 151. 13-14: (Attica): ἡδη δυστήνου κατὰ δώματα λήγετε πένθους. | καὶ φθιμένῃ γὰρ ἔμοι τοῦτον ποθεινότατον. Translation by Lattimore, o.c. (n. 49), p. 217.

51 Translation by Lattimore, o.c. (n. 48), p. 218.

52SGO I 20/03/04 (1st cent. AD): τὸ σᾶμα Δαμόνεικος, ὠπολλώνιε, | ξυνευνέτας τοι τοῦτο τᾶς τεᾶς κόρας | ἔστασ' ἐκυρεῖ κήπιτυμβίοις χοαῖς / καὶ στεμμάτεσιν ἀνθέων ἐτήσιων | μειλίσσετ' οὐκ ἀδάκρυς ἦ ῥα πολλάκις | γαμβροὶ τὰ παίδων ἐντελεῦσι θέσμια. Translation mine.

53Kaibel, o.c. (n. 46), 646. 9-12 (perhaps 3rd – 4th cent. AD): μὴ μύρα, μὴ στεφάνους στήλῃ, χαρίσῃ, λίθος ἐστίν· / μηδὲ τὸ πῦρ φλέξεις ἰς κενὸν ἢ δαπάνῃ· | ζῶντί μοι, εἴ τι ἔχεις, μεταδός, τέφραν δὲ μεθύσκων | πηλὸν ποιήσεις καὶ οὐκ ὁ θανὼν πίεται. Translation mine.

54 Lucian, *de luctu*, 19: τί δὲ ὁ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τάφου λίθος ἐστεφανωμένος; ἢ τί ὑμῖν δύναται τὸν ἄκρατον ἐπιχεῖν; ἢ νομίζετε καταστάξαι αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰδίου διίξεσθαι; τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν καθαγισμῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁρᾶτε, οἶμαι, ὥς τὸ μὲν νοστιμώτατον τῶν παρεσκευασμένων ὁ καπνὸς παραλαβὼν ἄνω εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν οἴχεται μηδὲν τι ἡμᾶς ὀνήσας τοὺς κάτω, τὸ δὲ καταλειπόμενον, ἢ κόνις, ἀχρεῖον, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ τὴν σποδὸν ἡμᾶς σιτεῖσθαι πεπιστεύκατε.

55Cf.e.g.SGO I 03/07/19, 6 (Erythrai, 1st cent. AD), 03/02/65. 3-6 (Ephesos, 2nd or 3rd cent. AD), 06/03/01. 6-11 (Stratonikeia in Kaikos, Imperial period); Kaibel, o.c. (n. 46), 647. 1-2 (Rome, perhaps 4th cent. AD).

56Strubbe, *l.c.* (n. 37), p. 54: “It is quite possible that the consolatory themes entered the epigrams from literary consolations. Ideas from philosophical literature may have been inserted in collections of examples of funerary poems during the Imperial period. It is well known that the writers of epigrams made use of models; this explains why so many reminiscences of classical authors (Homer, Euripides, Kallimachos, etc.) appear in these poems.” The idea goes back to Kassel, o.c. (n. 2), p. 50. See also n. Ehrhardt, “Tod, Trost und Trauer. Zur Funktion griechischer Trostbeschlüsse und Ehrendekrete post mortem”, *Laverna* 5 (1994), p. 47-48.

57 H.W. Pleket, “Troostdecreten: een maatschappelijk verschijnsel”, in H.F.J. Horstmanhoff (ed.), *Pijn en balsem, troost en smart. Pijnbeleving en pijnbestrijding in de Oudheid*, Rotterdam, 1994, p. 147-156, esp. p. 151.

Ritual Change during the Reign of Demetrius Poliorcetes

Annika B. Kuhn

1

The honours which Demetrius and his father Antigonus were granted as “saviour-gods” (*soteres*) after the liberation of Athens in 307, 304 and 294 established the well-known set of ritual honours commonly associated with the Hellenistic ruler cult as new, additional cult honours in juxtaposition to the already existing religious traditions.

1

Extraordinary as they were since divine honours were now conferred upon a living, mortal king, they did not necessarily entail the alteration of traditional ritual structures or the invention of new forms. Instead, they were modelled after the worship of the gods in the guise of its traditional forms (*isotheoi timai*) such as sacrifices, festivals, *temenos*, altars, cult statues, the renaming of months and days.

2

There were, however, individual honours and incidents that also reveal significant modifications, unprecedented manipulations and almost blasphemous distortions of traditional cults and ritual practice. These pertained to the chronological inner structure of the rituals as well as the spatial-geographical framework, the continuity of ritual traditions as well as the very essence of a ritual act. They, consequently, had not only technical but fundamental effects on the regular practice of individual cults and the celebration of festivals. The following observations are focused on several incidents that illustrate particularly well the dimensions of this form of ritual dynamics. Our main (and excellent) source for all this is the *Life of*

Demetrius by Plutarch, who, as a Delphic priest and ritual expert, took a strong and (sometimes) biased interest in the ritual practice and events during the reign of Demetrius Poliorcetes.

1. The abbreviation and alteration of the Eleusinian Mysteries

3

After the re-establishment of the Greek League in Corinth, Demetrius informed the Athenians in a letter early in 302 that he was to be immediately initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries upon his return and that he wished to go through all three stages of initiation in one single ceremony.

2

The impending war with the alliance newly formed between Ptolemy, Lysimachus, Seleucus and Cassander did not allow him enough time to undergo the ritual in the regular, prescribed way. What Demetrius thus required of the Athenians was, as Plutarch emphatically states, not only something completely new, but also a flagrant violation of the cult tradition: τοῦτο δ' οὐ θεμιτὸν ἦν οὐδὲ γεγρονός πρότερον.

3

4

The traditional execution of the Eleusinian Mysteries followed in form a strictly obligatory procedure divided into different stages of initiation and ritual actions through precisely determined time periods.

4

In the eighth month (Anthesterion) the initiates, in Agrae, near Athens, received a pre-inauguration in the form of the so-called Lesser Rites, a type of ritual purification as necessary preparation for the Greater Mysteries in Eleusis. The latter took place about seven months later, in the month of Boëdromion, and included a complex sequence of ritual events, in whose centre stood the transportation of the cult objects along the “sacred way” from Eleusis to Athens and back. On the 21st of Boëdromion the procession culminated in the *telesterion*, the Hall of Initiation, where the *epopteia* followed as the last stage of initiation and actual inclusion into the Mysteries. The

initiates did not go through this last stage in one single ceremony, but only in combination with the Greater Mysteries of the following year, so that the complete initiation process stretched over the course of more than eighteen months. In this context L. Bruit Zaidman and P. Schmitt Pantel rightly emphasize that “[t]he value of the initiation process in the eyes of the Greeks, apart from the significance of each of its stages, doubtless lay in its long period of preparation and in the progression towards the final revelation in the Hall of Initiation.”

5

5

Against the background of this strict time regulation it becomes clear that Demetrius expected a virtually unprecedented manipulation of the traditional procedure for the sake of his own person, since the Eleusinian Mysteries should be immediately adapted to his wishes in two ways.

6

It pertained on the one hand to an alteration in the calendar, because Demetrius' arrival in Athens fell in the month of Mounychion (i.e. before the regular date of the Lesser Mysteries); he, however, insisted on an immediate initiation. On the other hand it concerned the abbreviation and, consequently, the dissolution of the inner chronological structure of the ritual through the compression of the separate stages of initiation into one single act.

6

Demetrius attempted to persuade the Athenians of the justice of tampering with previous cult practice on the grounds that it would befit him διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας.

7

So the honour bestowed upon him due to his benefactions, viz. the liberation of Athens, as it was manifested in the form of the cult of the ruler, should now also be given expression through the adaptation of the calendar.

8

The priest in charge of the ritual, Pythodoros, was the only one who, due to the forced ritual modifications, dared to refuse the initiation of the king, while the majority of the Athenians bowed to the forces of *Realpolitik* and complied with Demetrius' desires. Considering Pythodoros' high prestige and ritual authority, it is all the more

remarkable that the protest of the Eleusinian priest remained without effect:

9

As opposed to the priesthoods determined by election, by lot or by purchase, the priesthood of the shrine for Demeter in Eleusis was in the power of two famous noble families, the Eumolpiads and the Cerycids, and had always been hereditary. A specialization in ritual was therefore connected with Pythodoros' office to a particularly great extent. This specialization touched not only upon the care and conservation of the ritual actions which were incumbent upon Pythodoros, but also upon the inherited privilege of laying claim to unchallenged ritual competence, expertise and power, a claim which was surely necessary for the mystery cult and its specific rituals.

10

The disregard of the judgement of a ritual expert as shown by the Athenians is indeed an instructive example of the complex issue of ritual authority and of the meaning and power of ritual knowledge in practice.

7

Since the precise execution of the Eleusinian rites was a matter of the utmost importance, it is no wonder that a modification of the rites was judged by Plutarch as οὐ θεμιτόν. Minor errors and oversights were penalized already one day after the *Eleusinia*, serious offences – investigation and revelation of the Mysteries – were draconically punished as acts of *asebeia*.

11

The famous "Mysteries' trial" against Alcibiades (415), because of wilful violation of the rule of secrecy, may illustrate the politically controversial nature that the irregular undertaking of the Mysteries could have, since the wrong execution of the rites "aimed at the fall of democracy", as his opponents claimed.

12

The crime of Alcibiades did not consist in a distortion or pastiche of the ritual, but in the fact that it was performed "zur falschen Zeit, am falschen Ort und durch die falschen Leute [...] – und dass Uneingeweihte anwesend waren."

13

A parallel to the situation in 302 is unmistakable.

One of the most fervent supporters of Demetrius, the Athenian politician Stratocles, who had proposed the motion for Demetrius' demand,

14

found a "sophistic" way of overcoming, at least *pro forma*, the seemingly insuperable hurdles in the Attic calendar: Mounychion was renamed as Anthesterion, so that Demetrius could attain the lower initiation of the Lesser Mysteries on his arrival, and immediately thereafter the same month was declared to be Boëdromion, in order that the Greater Mysteries might be celebrated and the king be granted the *epopteia* as well.

15

Through a singular "travesty of their religious ceremonies"

16

the semblance of the legal and the traditional could thus be preserved; for in spite of a shortening of the various phases, the chronology and the association of the Mysteries with the two months were *formaliter* preserved. The effort to avoid a complete break with tradition also reflects the great importance attached to the inalterability of chronological components at religious celebrations.

17

9

The question is whether Demetrius had any political purpose in mind with his hasty desire to be initiated and his insistence on cardinal cult modifications. The following aspects of the initiation into the Mysteries may be relevant here: As culminating act of the Eleusinian Mysteries the *epopteia* marks the threshold between inside and outside in a process which transforms the initiate from his previous state into that of a new human being. What effect the Mysteries were claimed to have may be illustrated by the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, which culminates in the makarism: "Blessed is man living on earth, who has seen such things. But he who does not bring the sacrifice or who avoids it will never have part of such happiness; he perishes in musty sorrow."

18

The contrast in the Mystery cult between initiates and non-initiates (just like the internal division of the participants into *mystai* and *epoptai*) was far more important than any social distinction; in the Mysteries conventional barriers of the social order were irrelevant so

that “unprivileged” persons – women, freedmen, and even slaves – were allowed to participate. In the place of social criteria the initiates had only to meet two conditions: they had to master the Greek language, not least so as to be able to understand the set ritual phrases, and they had to fulfill the command regarding ritual purity, i.e. be *katharos*, undefiled.

19

10

A political dimension of Demetrius’ demand for immediate initiation has been suggested by F. Landucci Gattolini, who has pointed out that Demetrius exploited for political purposes just these two elements: the classification into initiates and non-initiates, and the purity of the participants of the Eleusinian Mysteries. It was thereby possible for him to distinguish himself as religious-morally superior to his political opponents. His initiation meant “una ‘patente’ d’innocenza e di greccità.”

20

The public display of his integrity through his status as *epopteia-initiate* could undoubtedly be useful to him after the murders in the dynasty of Alexander and in the face of the blood guilt of Cassander. It could also be of additional interest to him to demonstrate his complete integration into the world of Greek culture through an initiation into the Mysteries. The polar division between initiates and non-initiates in the Eleusinian ritual could thus have had a further propagandist effect for Demetrius.

2. Moving the Pythian games from Delphi to Athens

11

The permanent wars at the time of the Diadochs had significant effects on the continuity of rituals. Political conflicts often came to act as catalysts for ritual dynamics in a number of ways, at times “subverting, interrupting, or intensifying [rituals].”

21

The huge strain put on the obligatory practice of traditional rituals under adverse political circumstances could lead to the neglect, interruption, or even cancellation of sacrifices, festivals, and rituals.

After the destruction of Thebes by Alexander in 335 the Athenians broke off the Eleusinian Mysteries, just begun, “as a sign of mourning”.

22

The Pythian Games in Delphi were not celebrated at all in 86 due to the war against Mithridates.

23

These Games are also to be found at the centre of another striking example of a ritual compromised by political conditions: the moving of the Games to Athens in 290 during the Aetolian occupation of Delphi.

12

As Macedonian king, and having both Macedonian votes in the Amphictyonic League, Demetrius laid claim to the *agonothesia* of the Games, as Philip II and Alexander had done before him. He was unable, however, to carry this through for the holding of the *Pythia* in 290, since Delphi was at the time under the control of the Aetolians, who blocked access to the sanctuary for him and his allies.

24

Demetrius, therefore, decided on a *πρᾶγμα καινότατον*: He had the Games staged in Athens.

25

13

The unprecedented moving of the Pythian Games and their celebration in Athens must be seen in the light of the fact that, as a general rule, the practice of a cult was inextricably tied to a particular sanctuary and the god honoured there.

26

Undoubtedly the relationship between cult and traditional venue was extremely close in the case of a large *panhellenic* event such as the Pythian Games, which drew their splendour from their connection to the *Delphic* sanctuary. By moving the *Pythia* to Athens, Demetrius tore them out of their traditional spatial context, uprooted and alienated them. The festival thus took place after a profound alteration of its traditional environment, which had considerable effects on the intrinsic nature of the cult.

27

14

Demetrius himself must have been well aware of the problems caused

by the spatial dissociation of ceremony and sanctuary, since he tried hard to legitimize the transfer of the Games to Athens by resorting to the ancient myth of a special relationship between Apollo and the Athenians, arguing that Apollo would be best honoured in Athens, “since he was a patron deity of the Athenians and was said to have been the founder of their race.”

28

With the transfer of the *Pythia* an old tradition would simply be continued. The idea that Apollo Pythios now appears as Patroos, progenitor of the Athenians, is based on a genealogical myth which is already to be found in Euripides’ *Ion*. The cult of Apollo Pythios and the phratry cult of Apollo Patroos are indeed attested to in Athens.

29

Through the construction of an etiology, the association of the Games with Apollo Patroos as the progenitor of the Athenians, Demetrius bestowed upon the panhellenic Pythian Games, now moved to Athens, a new “local patriotic” character. Unfortunately the question of how the other Greek *poleis* responded to this transfer must remain unanswered.

15

With the reorganization of the Delphic festival in Athens Demetrius could present himself as the preserver of a hitherto uninterrupted panhellenic tradition and display to the world his interest in the observation of traditional rituals and his concern for their continuity.

30

Besides, the blocked access to the Delphic oracle and the Pythian Games constituted not only a disruption in the intense communicative process and identity construction of the Greeks among themselves; what is more, it prevented the communication between the panhellenic cult community and the god. Demetrius brought home to the Greeks this fact by moving the festival to Athens, and the campaign planned against the Aetolians therefore almost had the features of a “sacred war”.

31

16

In 289, that is one year after the *Pythia* in Athens, Demetrius concluded a treaty with the Aetolians, which turns out to be a bilateral safeguard against abuses concerning the sanctuary in Delphi. The text of the treaty is written on a stele consecrated by

Perseus in 171, along with documents on the relationship of the Antigonids with the Amphictyonic League. It emphasizes the promise of free access for *all* Greeks to the sanctuary of Apollo.

32

The assurance of the sacred rights of the Amphictyonic League may primarily be founded upon Demetrius' desire to keep the effects of the Aetolian occupation of Delphi as small as possible. At the same time the Aetolians could make sure that Demetrius' arbitrary intervention in cult life, as practised the year before, would not be repeated.

3. Ritual framing: Demetrius' residence in the opisthodomos of the Parthenon

17

Temples and sacrificial sites form the spatial framework or setting for the performance of rituals within the religious sphere (and it is, *vice versa*, the ritual actions that permanently establish the sacred character of a space). They visibly mark the dividing line between the sacred and the profane. A way of assimilating Hellenistic rulers with traditional deities within these ritual spaces was the honouring of the king as *synnaos theos* of a deity: The god and the ruler were thought to be joint owners and occupants of the temple. The statue of the ruler was erected next to the already existing cult statue of the god or goddess, thus becoming a recipient of the same honours, offerings, and rituals, which previously had been bestowed solely upon the deity.

33

When staying in Athens in 304, Demetrius practised this kind of "temple-sharing" in a way which was unparalleled in the history of the *polis*.

34

18

Plutarch relates that it was not the statue of Demetrius, but Demetrius *in persona* that resided in the Parthenon – a privilege that the Athenians had granted him as one of the many manifestations of their reverence and obsequiousness.

35

It seems to be only logical that the conferment of divine honours on him should also imply the right to make use of the living quarters of the goddess as a royal palace. The accommodation of this new *synnaos* of the goddess was, however, not situated in the most sacred place, the *cella* of the Parthenon, where the famous cult image of Athena Parthenos was located

36

, but in the bordering back section, the *opisthodomos*, so that Demetrius did not live in immediate proximity to the goddess.

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Plutarch reports that Athena received and entertained Demetrius in the Parthenon as a guest.

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With this, Demetrius' residence in the temple is contextualized in a special ritual frame, that of traditional hospitality in general and of the *theoxenia*, i.e. the entertaining of gods, in particular. In this guest relationship, however, the traditional concept of *theoxenia* is inverted: it is not a divine *xenos* who is invited and entertained by mortals, but the goddess herself offers hospitality to a human being. Demetrius himself speaks of a sibling-relationship when he calls Athena his *πρεσβυτέρα ἀδελφή*, and here the question may arise whether Plutarch, by giving this piece of information, had in mind the marriage between siblings, which, especially under the Ptolemies, was not uncommon in later Hellenistic times.

20

Besides the characterization of the relation between Athena and Demetrius in terms of a guest and sibling relationship, there is another intriguing description of their relation by the Christian apologist Clement of Alexandria, who writes around 200 AD in his polemic attacks on paganism: "And by the Athenians a marriage with Athena was intended for him; but he disdained the goddess since he could not marry her statue."

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According to Clement, the Athenians conceived of the Athena-Demetrius relationship as a ritual union in the form of a "sacred marriage" (*hieros gamos*).

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Since this marriage could be consummated only ritually, not

physically, “he went up to the acropolis with the hetaera Lamia and married her in the nuptial chamber of Athena while showing the old virgin the form of the younger hetaera.”

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Regardless of whether Demetrius is portrayed as *xenos* or *adelphos* of Athena, or whether his relation to the goddess is described in the form of a hierogamy, the point is that in both accounts the cult assimilation of Demetrius to the city goddess is emphasized. Numismatic findings corroborate this observation with Demetrius having the portrait of Athena Promachos stamped on coins.

42

The cultic “kinship” with the goddess aimed at the association of the ruler with her personal characteristics: She was the goddess who brought victory, and the protector of Athens – features which were most suitable to strengthen Demetrius’ political position in Athens.

22

Yet, the assimilation of Demetrius to Athena, pursued so intensely, was soon to break down. The presence of the king in the Parthenon would surely have caused less of a scandal if the *xenos* had observed the rules of purity applying to a sanctuary, if he had respected the sharp distinction between the sacred and the profane spheres, and if he had not so flagrantly misused his status as *synnaos theos*. But Demetrius was, in Plutarch’s words, “no very orderly guest and did not occupy his quarters with the decorum due to a virgin.”

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Instead, he violated a sacred taboo, viz. the strict prohibition to “mate both in the temples and the sacred precincts”,

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shamelessly perverting the highest cult venue into a place of extreme sexual libertinism and excess.

45

It is all the more dramatic irony that this *miasma* was caused in the temple of Athena Parthenos, the untouchable virgin!

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Demetrius’ desecration of the sacred place implied a fundamental disturbance of the traditional cult practice and nullified the ritual dialogue between cult community and city goddess.

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What great outrage was provoked by his blatant disregard of the basic rules of cult tradition can be inferred from Plutarch's subtle irony in his comment on the increasing depravity of the ruler when he resided in the Parthenon: Demetrius "filled the acropolis with such wanton treatment of free-born youth and native Athenian women that the place was then thought to be particularly pure when he shared his dissolute life there with Chrysis and Lamia and Demo and Aticyra, the well-known prostitutes."

48

The fact that Demetrius did his shameful deeds on the acropolis with *freeborn* young men and *married* women must have been regarded as one of the worst sacrilegious offences, as may be inferred from specific regulations on purification in the *leges sacrae*.

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4. Failed ritual communication through "divine intervention"

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The manipulations of traditional ritual practice treated so far were either the result of deliberate ritual adaptations decided upon by the Athenians in honour and in the interest of the king, or they originated from the highhanded modifications or disregard for traditions by Demetrius himself. In each instance they were preceded by "negotiation", a formal honorific decree or at least an announcement of the ritual change. But ritual changes were not only pre-arranged, they could also have natural causes or occur spontaneously. Accordingly, Plutarch reports on three incidents, in which, due to unforeseen circumstances, the execution of the rituals was seriously affected. In the first, graphic example the new *peplos*, with the images of Demetrius and Antigonus woven into it, was torn in two during a storm as it was being carried in the procession of the *Panathenaea* through the Kerameikos (probably in 302/1). As a consequence, the central ritual act of the celebration, the presentation of the *peplos* to the city goddess, was thwarted. Furthermore, poisonous hemlock, which according to Plutarch was to be found extremely rarely in the country, grew in great quantities around the altars of the *soteres* Demetrius and Antigonus. Finally, on

the day of the celebration of the *Dionysia*, the sacred procession had to be abandoned due to a sudden period of severe weather cold, unusual for the season, which came to destroy vines, fig trees and grain harvests.

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What distinguishes these examples of ritual dynamics from those already discussed is the fact that each time there are external forces, natural occurrences, which lead to an unexpected disturbance, an interruption or even a complete halt of a ritual, and thereby a failed communication with the gods.

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Even worse, it is precisely the two most important festivals in Athens, the *Panathenaea* and the *Dionysia*, whose regular organization breaks down.

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Plutarch gives no details of how the Athenians reacted to these incidents, whether they continued the procession to the end or whether the entire ritual was repeated at a later date. The ritual disasters required a rearrangement of the ritual order, and it is certainly no coincidence that Lysimachus, on the occasion of the *Panathenaea* in 299/98, sent a new mast and rope for the ship which transported the *peplos* in the procession.

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The significance of this donation, whose explicit epigraphic mentioning seems peculiar to T.L. Shear in view of far more generous benefactions on part of the ruler,

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lies on a symbolic level: The equipping, even possibly the repair of the Panathenaeian ship, offered an excellent opportunity for Lysimachus to project himself as the devout ruler who greatly respected the religious traditions of Athens. Interestingly enough, Ptolemy Philadelphos also sent ropes εἰς τὸν πέπλον to the Athenians, along with the usual grain donations, on the occasion of the first celebration of the *Panathenaea* after Demetrius' expulsion in 287/6.

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These almost ritualized references to the *peplos* by Demetrius' rivals assume a symbolic meaning in connection with the failed ritual performances at the celebration of the *Panathenaea* in 302/1.

56

With his monocausal interpretation of the events Plutarch voices harsh criticism of Demetrius and the Athenians. It was the gods themselves, as the Delphic priest explains, who deliberately brought about the failures in the rituals or the destruction of the ritual environment (hemlock). The gods had unmistakably signalled their disapproval in the form of divine *omina* and refused any communication with the mortals, which is still the main concern of a ritual action.

57

But what exactly may have angered the gods? It is telling that the incidents occurred in relation to those cults or celebrations which had been introduced as *isothēoi timai* for Demetrius or whose traditional ritual matrix had been altered by various additions for his sake: The *peplos* with its traditional portrayal of the *gigantomachia* had been “updated” by the inclusion of the portraits of the battling Antigonid kings by the side of Zeus and Athena,

58

and the *Dionysia* had been expanded by the festival of the newly-established *Demetrieia*, a fusion which presumably implied the formatting of some rituals of the *Dionysia* to the person of the king.

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What, in Plutarch’s view, had incurred the displeasure of the gods was the distortion and perversion of their cults as well as the readiness of the Athenians to permit or even arrange these cult innovations.

5. Demetrius’ ritual authority

Stratocles, who was so inventive in manipulating the ritual practice in favour of Demetrius (s.a.), was also the father of a decree (probably in 304), which laid down that “it was the pleasure of the Athenian people that whatsoever King Demetrius should ordain in future, this should be held righteous towards the gods and just towards men” (τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς θεοὺς ὀσιον καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι δίκαιον).

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There are good reasons to assume that this decree was intended as a

preventive measure to ward off any criticism of the king's transgressions of cult tradition as well as a means of exculpating him. The decree, in fact, grants the king absolution from any offences or misconduct, attributing to Demetrius' actions a quasi-sacrosanct quality, a kind of "papal" infallibility.

61

If his transgressions could be taken as being in accord with the divine will, the individual innovations and ritual errors could be harmonized with traditional ritual practice. This assignment of a ritual agency to Demetrius was an appropriate way of sanctioning drastic changes in ritual practice, both in retrospect and with a view to future actions.

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Demetrius' ritual authority was strengthened all the more in a decree of the year 292/1, in which he was honoured with the role of an "oracle":

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Dromocleides the Sphettian moved, when the dedication of certain shields at Delphi was in question, that the Athenians should *get an oracle* (λαβεῖν χρησμόν) from Demetrius. And I will transcribe his very words from the decree; they run thus: "May it be for the best. Decreed by the people that the people elect one man from the Athenians, who shall go to the Saviour-god, and, after a sacrifice with good omens, shall inquire of the Saviour-god *in what most speedy, decorous, and reverent manner* the people may accomplish the restoration to their places of the dedicatory offerings; and that whatever answer he shall give (ὃ τι δ' ἂν χρήσῃ), the people shall act according thereunto."

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As an oracle, Demetrius is placed in the position of the supreme religious authority and elevated to a practically inviolable rank. Every modification of a ritual required the sanctioning of the deities, and it is this function as a mouthpiece of the Olympian gods that gave the oracle its paramount importance. It is significant that the Athenians did consult Demetrius as an oracle about the correct execution of the renewed consecration of the shields for Delphi, asking the *soter* πῶς ἂν εὐσεβέστατα καὶ κάλλιστα καὶ τὴν ταχίστην ὁ δῆμος τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν ποιήσαιο τῶν ἀναθημάτων. It is true that Demetrius' ritual authority was not based on any ritual expertise, but by virtue of the decree all ritual changes could now, with his authority as a direct channel of communication with the gods, be

shown as being in unison with the divine will and as being positive divine *omina*. When looking for the motives behind Demetrius' appointment as an oracle and the acceptance of his words as directives of the gods, one should, of course, note that all this happened during the time of the temporary inaccessibility of the Delphic oracle: Demetrius stood in for the Delphic Pythia.

30

Apart from Demetrius' new ritual potency, the decree sheds light on another interesting aspect of ritual dynamics. It seems that the ritual frame was employed by the Athenians as a well-calculated strategy to convey a political message to Demetrius. This view gains strength when we focus on the gist of the Athenians' inquiry about the renewed consecration of the shields in Delphi.

64

The shields in question were those that had been carried off by the Athenians as war booty after the battle of Plataea in 480/479 and had then been dedicated in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, together with an inscription which reminded the Greeks of the ignominious alliance between the Thebans and the Persians: Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων, ὅτε τάναντία τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐμάχοντο.

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At the beginning of the 3rd century Delphi was under the control of the Aetolians, who had entered upon an alliance with the Thebans.

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We may assume that on the instigation of the latter the shields were removed due to their inscription, which the Thebans must have regarded as blatant provocation. With their insistence on a renewal of the consecration of the shields the Athenians would not only recall a shameful event of the past. Against the backdrop of the political situation of the time, the restitution of the sacred offerings with the original inscription aimed at the continuation of the stigmatization of the Thebans (and Aetolians). This kind of "symbolic elimination" of the enemy could only be realized after the expulsion of the Aetolians from Delphi. The inquiry of the Athenians thus implied an appeal to the new oracular god Demetrius for military intervention in Delphi.

31

The ritual context of this political message as well as Demetrius' function as communicator of the divine will may have imposed on the ruler a stronger obligation to take action than a normal petition to

the king could ever have achieved. This “ritualization” or “sacralization” of political communication is also exemplified in the famous ithyphallic hymn on Demetrius, with which the Athenians received the ruler in 291 BC: After a glorification of the king, the hymn raises the issue of the Aetolian occupation of Delphi, when the Athenians implore Demetrius to defeat “the Sphinx that rules not only over Thebes but over the whole of Greece, the *Aitolian sphinx* sitting on a rock like the ancient one.”

67

By contrasting Demetrius’ presence with the absence of the gods and their indifference when help is needed (“For the other gods are either far away, or they do not have ears, or they do not exist, or do not take any notice of us, but you we can see present here”),

68

the hymn does not only encomiastically render the Athenians’ feelings of gratitude to Demetrius, but also expresses their expectations and a veiled exhortation that the ruler should promptly respond to the challenges of the time.

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The ritualized communication was not only restricted to these instances. Stratocles proposed that delegations to Demetrius and Antigonos should be called *theoroi* in allusion to the sacred embassies for Delphi and Olympia, who on behalf of the *polis* made a sacrifice during the panhellenic games or consulted the oracle.

69

The blurring of the political and sacred spheres is quite remarkable here: Every legation to Demetrius was equated with a *theoria*, i.e. the diplomatic contact to the ruler was couched in a ritual disguise. In view of Demetrius’ inapproachability and aloofness – which Plutarch extensively addresses in chapter 42 – the ritual frame of the *theoria* proved a useful means of overcoming communicative barriers to the ruler.

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6. Conclusion

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In view of the fact that Demetrius’ rule became more and more despotic, it is not surprising that it provided an ideal breeding ground

for harsh criticism among contemporaries. There were not few who were convinced that the Athenians, carried away by a sudden feeling of gratitude for their liberator, had heaped excessive honours on someone who demonstrated by his impious and immoral actions that he did not deserve them at all. The numerous ritual innovations, modifications and abuses dealt with so far are summarized and criticized in a remarkable testimony in the comic playwright Philippides, who mordantly scolds the main initiator of these honours, Stratocles, for his opportunistic obsequiousness and scathes the ritual aberrations during the rule of Demetrius:

who abridged the whole year into a single month,
who took the acropolis for a caravansary
and introduced to its virgin goddess his courtesans. (...)
Through him it was that the hoar-frost blasted all vines.
through his impiety, the robe was rent in twain
because he gave the gods' own honours unto men.

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Philippides' attack culminates in a dramatic vision of the impact of these changes on democracy: "Such work undoes its people, not its comedy."

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In a similar way the politician Demochares, the historian Douris of Samos, and the atthidograph Philochorus have voiced their grievances, and it is a common feature with all these contemporary critics that their criticism is not so much levelled at Demetrius, but centred on the initiators and agents of the ritual changes, above all Stratocles and the people of Athens, who even tolerate the ruler's violation of sacred ritual traditions.

73

It is important to note here that their opposition is based on both political and religious grounds. According to R. Parker "[t]he language of the attack is religious, the motivation political also."

74

But it seems that their fundamental objections to the cult innovations were not implemented to pursue political aims and objectives. They suggest, however, very well that a strong sense of cult tradition has been hurt. It is the unscrupulousness of the Athenians in matters of cult and ritual during the reign of Demetrius that these critics

disapprove of.

36

This kind of religious conservatism is even more distinct some centuries later in Plutarch's *Vita*, who writes about Demetrius from the point of view of the biographer *and* the ritual expert. It is Plutarch's firm belief that the meticulous observance of the cults and the ritual traditions gives coherence to society; any violation of tradition is equated by him with an act of violence against a fellow human being.

75

For this reason he responds to all the instances of ritual innovation and modification, the distortion and perversion of rituals, with genuine outrage and indignation, and he makes no secret of his conviction that the flattering conferment of a multitude of (divine) honours on Demetrius has necessarily had a disastrous impact on his character (προσδιέφθειραν αὐτόν),

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making him an unbearable (βαρὺς) and much-hated (ἐπαχθής) ruler.

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37

A final evaluation of the instances of ritual dynamics dealt with in this paper must take into consideration that the period of the Diadochs was a time of transition with new political, social, religious and cultural developments and notions taking shape. One of its main characteristics was the emergence of monarchies with all-powerful potentates, the Hellenistic kings. The new focus on the ruler had a great impact on the ritual practices and traditions, the development of the ruler cult being one of its most prominent features. The fact that the period of Demetrius' reign constitutes the early, formative stage of the worship of the ruler may partly account for the excesses and aberrations in the ritual practice of the time, the autocratic and arbitrary behaviour of Demetrius in matters of cult and worship, the blind zeal of the Athenians in honouring the king with *isotheoi timai*, and the scorn of their traditionalist critics.

Notes

1 On the Hellenistic ruler cult and the deification of Demetrius see above all K. Scott, "The Deification of Demetrius Poliorcetes", *AJPh* 49 (1928), p. 137-166, 217-239; E. Cappellano, *Il fattore politico negli onori divini a Demetrio Poliorcete*, Torino, Giappichelli, 1954; L. Cerfaux, J. Tondriau, *Le culte des souverains dans la civilisation gréco-romaine*, Tournai, Desclée, 1957 (*Bibliothèque de théologie*, 3); F. Taeger, *Charisma. Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Herrscherkultes*, vol. 1, Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1957; Chr. Habicht, *Gottmenschen und griechische Städte*, München, Beck, 1970² [1956] (*Zetemata*, 14); I. Kertész, "Bemerkungen zum Kult des Demetrios Poliorketes", *Oikumene* 2 (1978), p. 163-175; S.F. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 23-52; Ph. Gauthier, *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs (ive - ve siècle avant J.-C). Contribution à l'histoire des institutions*, Paris, Boccard, 1985 (*BCH*, suppl. 12); A. Chaniotis, "The Divinity of Hellenistic Rulers", in A. Erskine. (ed.), *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*, Oxford, Blackwell, 2003, p. 431-445.

2 Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 26, 1. Cf. also Diodorus Siculus, XX, 110.

3 Plut., *Demetr.*, 26, 1.

4 On the Eleusinian Mysteries see G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1961; K. Dowden, "Grades in the Eleusinian Mysteries", *RHR* 197 (1980), p. 409-27; W. Burkert, *Homo Necans. The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1983, p. 248-298; *id.*, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1987, *passim*.

5 L. Bruit Zaidman, P. Schmitt Paintel, *Religion in the Ancient Greek City*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997 [1992], p. 139.

6 A historical parallel is reported in Cassius Dio, LIV, 9, 10. Dio speaks of how the Eleusinian Mysteries in Athens were postponed on the occasion of the visit by Augustus in 19 BC, so that the emperor could partake in the celebration. The coincidence of the imperial *adventus* and an important festival could further heighten the significance and festiveness of the imperial coming. Cf. J. Lehnen, *Adventus Principis. Untersuchungen zu Sinngehalt und Zeremoniell der Kaiserankunft in den Städten des Imperium Romanum*, Frankfurt, Peter Lang, 1997 (*Prismata* 7), p. 43.

7 Diod., XX, 110, 1.

8 Cappellano, o.c. (n. 1), p. 23 holds the view that this was a common way of acting in reference to people of high rank. She does not provide any textual sources for this nor does she take into consideration the fact that Plutarch regards the change as an "unprecedented act" (s.a.).

9 On the ritual competence of priests see the recent studies by A. Chaniotis, "Priests as Ritual Experts in the Greek World", in B. Dignas, K. Trampedach (eds), *Practitioners of the Sacred. Greek Priests from Homer to Julian*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press (forthcoming); E. Stavrianopoulou, "Priester gesucht, Erfahrung erwünscht", in C. Ambos et al. (eds), *Die Welt der Rituale. Von der Antike bis*

heute, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005, p. 90-95; R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 89-115.

10Cf. Chaniotis, l.c. (n. 9).

11 The outstanding importance of the Eleusinian Mysteries for the Athenians is explained through the constitutive part they played in the self-view and self-portrayal of their city as the cradle of civilization: It was to the Athenians that Demeter had given “the two greatest gifts in the world” – the cultivation of grain and the Mysteries. Cf. Isocrates, III, 28.

12Cf. Thucydides, VI, 28.

13F. Graf, “Der Mysterienprozeß”, in L. Burckhardt, J. von Ungern-Sternberg (eds), *Große Prozesse im antiken Athen*, München, Beck, 2000, p. 124. In another trial the non-Athenian Diagoras of Melos was sentenced to death *in absentia* because of his mocking of the Eleusinian rites. Cf. *Souda*, s.v. Διαγόρας ὁ Μήλιος (ed. Adler II [1931], p. 53).

14 According to Plutarch (*Demetr.*, 11, 1) Stratocles of Diomeia was the initiator and inventor of most of the extravagant honours for Demetrius: οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ τῶν σοφῶν τούτων καὶ περιττῶν καινουργὸς ἀρεσκειμάτων.

15 It is interesting to note that the Mounychion was later renamed Demetrian as one of the honours conferred on Demetrius by the Athenians in 294. Cf. Plut., *Demetr.*, 12, 2.

16 Chr. Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Antony*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1999² [1997], p. 79.

17Cf. S. Dow, “The Calendar of the Eleusinian Mysteries”, *HSPH* 48 (1937), p. 111-120. In a similar way the essential alteration of the dates of an Attic festival was concealed thirty years later; when the *Dionysia* in 270 had to be postponed four days, the Athenians simply intercalated the same number of days after the 9th of Elaphebolion so that through such an interpolation the celebrations could begin on the 10th of Elaphebolion as usual. Cf. W.B. Dinsmoor, “The Archonship of Pytharates (271/0 B.C.)”, *Hesperia* 23 (1954), p. 299, l. 2-5, p. 308-312.

18Hymnus Homericus ad Demeter, 480-482: ὄλβιος ὄλβιος ὃς τάδ’ ὅπωπεν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων ὃς δ’ ἀτεγῆς ἱερῶν, ὃς τ’ ἄμμορος, οὐ ποθ’ ὁμοίων αἴσαν ἔει φθίμενός περ ὑπὸ ζόφῳ εὐρῶεντι.

19Cf. Libanius, *Declamatio*, 13, 52.

20 F. Landucci Gatttonini, “Demetrio Poliorcete e il santuario di Eleusi”, in M. Sordi (ed.), *Santuari e politica nel mondo antico*, Mailand, 1983 (CISA, 9), p. 124.

21Cf. A. Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic World. A Social and Cultural History*, Oxford, Blackwell, 2005, p. 160-163; quote from p. 161.

22 Plut., *Alexander*, 13, 1.

23Cf. Syll.³ 738.

24Cf. Plut., *Demetr.*, 13 (*psephisma* of Dromocleides) and 40, 4; Douris *FGrH* 76 F 13 = Athenaius, VI, 253b-f (ithyphallic hymn on Demetrius); see also J.D. Grainger, *The League of the Aitolians*, Leiden, Brill, 1999, p. 91.

25 Plut., *Demetr.*, 40, 4: Τῶν δὲ Πυθίων καθηκόντων πρᾶγμα καινότατον ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὁ Δημήτριος. ἐπεὶ γὰρ Αἰτωλοὶ τὰ περὶ Δελφοῦς στενὰ κατεῖχον, ἐν Ἀθήναις αὐτὸς ἦγε τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν. P. Green, *Alexander to Actium. The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1990, p. 126 sq. and Habicht, o.c. (n. 16), p. 94 assume that in 290 the Pythian Games were carried out at two different locations: in Delphi by the Aetolians, and in Athens by Demetrius. The question whether the Games in Athens were no more than an *Ersatz-event* must remain open.

26 In general, not even a (natural) disaster had an impact on the continuity of a cult on its traditional sacred site. Cf. W. Burkert, *Ancient Greek Religion*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1987, p. 84-87.

27 S. Hornblower, "The Religious Dimension to the Peloponnesian War, or, What Thucydides Does not Tell Us", *HSPH* 94 (1992), p. 179 points out that large Greek monuments were often subjected to manipulation due to their great political importance.

28 Plut., *Demetr.*, 40, 4 (trans. B. Perrin): οἷς καὶ πατρῴος ἐστὶ καὶ λέγεται τοῦ γένους ἀρηγός.

29 The old Pythion in southeastern Athens near the Ilissos was the scene of the *Thargelia* and the point of departure for the *Pythias*, a ceremonial legation to Delphi, which had been sent there for the last time in 326. On the cult of Apollo Patroos and Apollo Pythios at Athens cf. C.W. Hedrick, "The Temple and Cult of Apollo Patroos in Athens", *AJA* 92 (1988), p. 185-210; S.D. Lambert, *The Phratries of Attica*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1993, p. 211-217.

30R. Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens à Delphes. Contribution à l'histoire de la Grèce centrale au III^e siècle av. J.-C.*, Paris, Boccard, 1937 (*BEFAR*, 143), p. 76 rightly points out: « Il voulait surtout montrer que l'occupation de Delphes par les Étoliens était une usurpation intolérable, qui, en empêchant tant de Grecs de s'y réunir librement, portait atteinte aux traditions les plus anciennes et les plus vénérées de l'Hellade. »

31 On the chronology of the Aetolian attack and Demetrius' expedition see S.V. Tracy, *Athens and Macedon: Attic Letter-Cutters of 300 to 229 BC*, Berkeley /Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2003, p. 44 sq.

32SEG 48, 588, l. 21-23: [(...)[(...) ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖς διαμένειν τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν] κοινὸν πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων [καὶ συνέρχεσθαι εἰς τὴν τε πυλαίαν καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Πυθίων? τ]οὺς Ἀμφικτίονας κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, [ὥστε ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν?...]. Cf. F. Lefèvre, "Traité de paix entre Démétrios Poliorcète et la confédération étolienne (fin 289?)", *BCH* 122 (1998), p. 139. A further example of the assurance of unrestricted access to the Delphic sanctuary may be found in *IG II² 652*, l. 4-8 from 286/5.

33Cf. A.D. Nock, "ΣΥΝΝΑΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ", *HSCP* 41 (1930), p. 204; B. Schmidt-Dounas, "Statuen hellenistischer Könige als Synnaoi Theoi", *Egnatia* 4 (1993/94), p. 78; I. Bald Romano, *Early Greek Cult Images*, Philadelphia, University Microfilms International, 1980, p. 291 assigns to the second statue the lower cult status of an accompanying

deity.

34 See in particular T.S. Scheer, *Die Gottheit und ihr Bild. Untersuchungen zur Funktion griechischer Kultbilder in Religion und Politik*, München, Beck, 2000 (*Zetemata*, 105), p. 271-279.

35 Cf. Plut., *Demetr.*, 23, 2-3.

36 On the debate over the cultic function of the Parthenon cf. B. Holtzmann, *L'Acropole d'Athènes. Monuments, cultes et histoire du sanctuaire d'Athènes Polios*, Paris, Picard, 2003 (*Antiqua*, 7), p. 105-107.

37 Apart from its strategic function as a fortress, the acropolis as Demetrius' new residence was a place of symbolic significance. It was the legendary seat of the first kings of Athens, and so Demetrius was visibly linked to the past of the city. There were surely also practical considerations for his taking up residence in the Parthenon. Scott, *l.c.* (n. 1), p. 218 rightly notes that "Demetrius found in the temple the most spacious and attractive residence in Athens, so that there was, in part at least, a desire for comfort behind his occupation of the Parthenon."

38 Plut., *Demetr.*, 23, 3: τὸν γὰρ ὀπισθόδομον τοῦ Παρθενῶνος ἀπέδειξαν αὐτῷ κατάλυσιν· κακεῖ δίαίταν εἶχε, τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς λεγομένης ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ ξενίζειν αὐτόν.

39 Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protreptikos* IV, 54, 6.

40 Habicht, *o.c.* (n. 1), p. 49 and G.B. Philipp, "Philippides, ein politischer Komiker in hellenistischer Zeit", *Gymnasium* 80 (1973), p. 505 follow this interpretation.

41 Clem. Alex., *Protr.* IV, 54, 6.

42 E.T. Newell, *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes*, London, Oxford University Press, 1927, p. 38-41.

43 Plut., *Demetr.*, 23, 4.

44 Herodot, II, 64.

45 In *Demetr.*, 24, 1 Plutarch refers to the acropolis in general as the location of the orgies, whereas in his comparison between Demetrius and Antony (*Comparatio Demetrii et Antonii*, 4, 3-4) he explicitly mentions the Parthenon. The prohibition of dogs on the acropolis "because of their gross, uncleanly habits" (*ibid.*) may shed light upon the strict requirement of cleanliness at this cult site.

46 Apparently, Demetrius' behaviour in the temple of Apollo at Delos (on his way to Athens) was not any less wanton and scandalous since, when the records of the temple suggest that the *kopros* had to be removed after the king's departure, one may for good reason assume, in the face of the incidents in Athens, that some very specific refuse is meant. Cf. IG XI 146 A, 1. 76 sq. See F.W. Walbank, "Könige als Götter. Überlegungen zum Herrscherkult von Alexander bis Augustus", *Chiron* 17 (1987), p. 370. Cf., however, the objections by Scheer, *o.c.* (n. 34), p. 276 sq.

47 The dishonouring of Athena Parthenos seems to have been taken to yet another level during the rule of the tyrant Lachares, who not only removed and melted down the sacred golden shields of the acropolis but perhaps also stole the jewelry from the statue of Athena Parthenos and thereby "made Athena naked". Cf. Plut.,

Moralia 379cd; 1090e; *Athen.*, IX, 405 sq.; *CAF* III 357.

48 *Plut.*, *Demetr.*, 24, 1 (trans. B. Perrin): Αημήτριος (...) τοσαύτην ὕβριν εἰς παῖδας ἐλευθέρους καὶ γυναῖκας ἀστὰς κιστὰς κατεσκέδασε τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ὥστε δοκεῖν τότε μάλιστα καθαρεῦεῖν τὸν τόπον, ὅτε Χρυσίδι καὶ Λαμῖα καὶ Δημοῖ καὶ Ἀντικύρᾳ ταῖς πόρναῖς ἐκείναις, συνακολασταῖνοι.

49*Cf.* R. Parker, *Miasma. Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1983, p. 75, 90-92; E. Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law. A Collection of New Documents (NGSL)*, Leiden, Brill, 2005 (*Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*, 152), p. 77-79, 212 sq.

50 *Plut.*, *Demetr.*, 12, 2-3.

51 R.L. Grimes, “Infelicitous Performances and Ritual Criticism”, *Semeia* 41 (1988), p. 110-116 identifies nine categories of ritual “failure”: misfire, abuse, ineffectuality, violation, contagion, opacity, defeat, omission, misframing.

52 Only a few decades before, Demosthenes (4, 35) proudly stated that the Athenians had always carried out the *Panathenaea* and the *Dionysia* at the regular time, in spite of adverse circumstances.

53*Cf.* *IG II² 657= Syll.3 374*; T.L. Shear, *Kallias of Sphettos and the Revolt of Athens in 286 B.C.*, Princeton, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1978 (*Hesperia*, suppl. 17), p. 94 sq. The donation suggests that the mast had also been destroyed by the storm. For a detailed discussion of the *Panathenaeon* ship see N. Robertson, “The Origin of the *Panathenaea*”, *RhM* 128 (1985), p. 290-295.

54 Shear, o.c. (n. 53), p. 41: “What is still more surprising is the nature of the donations themselves. Lysimachos, who sent to Athens 10,000 *medimnoi* of wheat and later 130 silver talents, contented himself with a gift of three pieces of timber for the goddess Athena.”

55*Cf.* Shear, o.c. (n. 53), p. 3 sq. = *SEG* 28, 60, 1. 66-70.

56 In his final assessment of the events, Shear, o.c. (n. 53), p. 41 arrives at the conclusion that the new mast and rope “were dedications more than donations.” The same donation was made by Miltiades of Marathon in 142, which is similarly emphasized in the honorary decree. *Cf.* *IG II² 968*, 1. 48 sq.

57 *Plut.*, *Demetr.*, 12, 2: ἐπεσήμηνε δὲ τοῖς πλείστοις τὸ θεῖον. Even the correct performance of rituals would not have guaranteed a successful communication as long as the gods did not “answer” to the dedications.

58 *Plut.*, *Demetr.*, 10, 4. On the *peplos* and its cult function see J.M. Mansfield, *The Robe of Athena and the Panathenaic peplos*, Berkeley, 1985, p. 51-78.

59 So J.D. Mikalson, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens*, Berkeley /Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1998, p. 93.

60 *Plut.*, *Demetr.*, 24, 5.

61*Cf.* Scheer, o.c. (n. 34), p. 275, n. 486; P. Green, “Delivering the Go(o)ds: Demetrius Poliorcetes and Hellenistic Divine Kingship”, in G.W. Bakewell, J.P. Sickinger (eds), *Gestures. Essays in Ancient History, Literature and Philosophy presented to Alan L. Boegehold*, Oxford, Oxbow, 2003, p. 264.

- 62 Because of the textual closeness Habicht, o.c. (n. 1), p. 49 sq. assumed that Dromocleides' decree was identical with Stratocles' proposal but he revised this view later in *id.*, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, München, Beck, 1979 (*Vestigia*, 30), p. 36.
- 63 Plut., *Demetr.*, 13 (trans. B. Perrin).
- 64 For a detailed analysis of the decree and its political background see Habicht, o.c. (n. 62), p. 34-44.
- 65 Aeschines, 3, 116.
- 66 Cf. Flacelière, o.c. (n. 30), p. 51 sq.; C. Antonetti, *Les Étolien, image et religion*, Paris, Belles Lettres, 1990, p. 122-124.
- 67 Douris *FGrHist* 76 F 13 = Athen., VI, 253d-f. (trans. M.M. Austin): τὴν δ' οὐχὶ Θηβῶν, ἀλλ' ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος Σφίγγα περικρατοῦσαν, Αἰτωλὸς ὅστις ἐπὶ πέτρας καθήμενος, ὥσπερ ἡ παλαιά (...).
- 68 *Ibid.*: ἄλλοι μὲν ἢ μακρὰν γὰρ ἀπέχουσιν θεοὶ ἢ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὧτα ἢ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἢ οὐ προσέχουσιν ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ἓν, σὲ δὲ παρόνθ' ὀρώμεν.
- 69 Plut., *Demetr.*, 11, 1. This honour is also attested for Ptolemy Philadelphos, Antigonos Gonatas und Antiochos III. Cf. *P.Lond.* VII, 1973; Athen., XIII, 607c. *Theoroi* were also sent to Alexander at Babylon. Cf. Arrian, *Anabasis* VII, 23.
- 70 Cf. Plut., *Demetr.*, 42, 1-3. On the ruler's aloofness see also A. Wallace-Hadrill, "Civilis princeps. Between King and Citizen", *JRS* 72 (1982), p. 33 sq.
- 71 Plut., *Demetr.*, 12, 4; 26, 3 (trans. B. Perrin): ὁ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν συντεμῶν εἰς μῆν' ἓνα, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ Παρθενῶνι κατασηκνώσεως ὁ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πανδοκεῖον ὑπολαβὼν, καὶ τὰς ἐταίρας εἰσαγαγὼν τῇ παρθένῳ. (...) δι' ὃν ἀπέκασεν ἡ ἀχνη τὰς ἀμπέλους, δι' ὃν ἀσεβοῦνθ' ὁ πέπλος ἐρράγη μέσος, ποιοῦντα τιμὰς τὰς [τῶν] θεῶν ἀνθρωπίνας.
- 72 Plut., *Demetr.*, 12, 4: ταῦτα καταλύει δῆμον, οὐ κωμῳδία. Three years after Demetrius' expulsion from Athens, in 284/3, Philippides reintroduced "all contests" (πάντας τοὺς [ἀγῶνας]) by a private donation, which probably refers to the restoration of the biennial Eleusinian games as well as the Greater Mysteries, which could not be celebrated in 286 during Demetrius' occupation of Eleusis. Cf. *IG* II2 657, l. 38-50; Shear, o.c. (n. 53), p. 85.
- 73 Cf. Demochares, *FGrHist* 75 F 1; Plut., *Demetr.*, 24, 5; Douris, *FGrHist* 76 F 13 = Athen., VI, 253d-f; Philochorus, *FGrHist* 328 F 70.
- 74 R. Parker, *Athenian Religion. A History*, Oxford, University Press, 1996, p. 261.
- 75 Cf. Plut., *Mor.*, 756a-b; see A. Wardman, *Plutarch's Lives*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1974, p. 89 sq.; R. Lamberton, *Plutarch*, New Haven/London, Yale University Press, 2001, p. 56 sq.
- 76 Plut., *Demetr.*, 13, 2.
- 77 *Ibid.*, 10, 3.

Ritual Traditions in the Discourse of the Imperial Period

Stephan Hotz

1

If one accompanies Pausanias on his way through Arcadian Megalopolis in the 2nd century AD, it is remarkable how often he talks of ruined temples: this apparently was the fate of the temple of Athena Polias and that of Hera; of the sanctuary of the Muses, of Hermes, and of Apollo only foundations remained, according to Pausanias, and nothing was left of the temple of Herakles, but an altar. Even worse was the condition of the temple of Dionysos, which had been struck by lightning some two lifetimes ago, but had not been rebuilt.

1

Although Pausanias himself reports that the inhabitants of Pheneos, an Arcadian town, carried out the sacrificial rituals for Apollo even in the ruins of their temple,

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it seems very probable that the dilapidation of temples, which could be observed in many places, went hand in hand with a neglect of the traditional rituals for the gods (sacrifices, mystery festivals, banquets).

2

The notion of ‘neglect of traditional rituals’ subsumes many different situations, which can often only be vaguely grasped in the sources. We should distinguish between a threatening and an already occurring neglect. The former connotes the questioning of rituals, whereas the latter indicates that rituals are carried out only to a more limited extent or are no longer practiced. There were local

initiatives, the common purpose of which was to counteract the negligence on both levels and to restore cult traditions or to confirm them. This will be shown in the following overview of the epigraphic evidence, which ranges from the 1st to the 3rd century AD, and which has an emphasis on Asia Minor. In the first part of the paper (§1) I will present a selection of epigraphic sources concerning the restoration of neglected old cultic traditions. Following the presentation of the evidence I will consider (§2) possible causes of neglect as well as the initiators (§3), the addressees, and the strategies used in the discourses (§4).

1. Evidence for the restoration of cult traditions

- 3 During the reign of Augustus, the Milesian Epinikos, about whom no further information can be obtained from the epigraphic evidence of that Ionian city, attempted to renew the tradition of sacrifices and cult activities for Zeus Soter (π[αρ]ὰ Δεί[α Σ]ωτῆρα θυσίαν καὶ ἱερουργίαν) as annual rituals.

3

- 4 A decree from Athens (SEG 26, 121),
4 probably passed also under the first *Princeps* (10 or 3/2 BC), stipulated the restoration of some 80 sanctuaries for gods and heroes together with their rituals ([τὰς τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἡρώων θυσία]ς καὶ τελεμὰς ἀνεῖται) in all of Attica.

5

- 5 From the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos comes a very fragmentary inscription, dated by J. Crampa to the Early Empire.

6

It includes cult regulations for sacrificial rituals during the festival of Zeus from the reign of the Karian dynast Maussolos (mid-4th century BC) and – judging from the letter-forms – was re-inscribed in the Imperial Period probably due to the restoration of the festival at Labraunda.

In the Boeotian city of Akraiphia, during the reign of Caligula, a respected citizen named Epaminondas undertook the initiative to renew the festival in honour of Apollo Ptoos, which had been interrupted for a period of thirty years (ἐγ[λε]λοιπότος γὰρ ἦδη τριάκοντα ἔτη τοῦ τῶν Πτωίων ἀγώνος).

8

According to the inscription, Epaminondas renewed the sacrifice (ἐπιτελεῖ τὰς θυσίας) and arranged the procession and the cyclic dance according to the customs of the ancestors ([τ]ὰς δὲ πατρίους πομπὰς μεγάλας καὶ τὴν τῶν συρτῶν πάτριον ὄρχησιν)

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The next example is a Milesian decree dated to the end of the 1st century AD, the initiator of which was the president (*archiprytanis*) of the council of Miletos, Tiberius Claudius Damas.

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The resolution concerned two banquets connected with the cult personnel of the *kosmoi* and the *molpoi*.

11

While the prophet of the oracle at Didyma was responsible for the feasting of the *kosmoi*, the *stephanophoros* was to feast the *molpoi*.

12

The resolution of the demos of Miletos to oblige prophets and *stephanophoroi* to arrange the feasting according to ancient tradition (κατὰ τὰ π[ά]τρια ἔθνη) can be taken as an indication that this ritual custom had been neglected.'

13

According to an Ephesian honorary inscription of the years 105-120 AD,

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the *prytanis* Dionysidoros had altars in the sanctuaries in the entire territory of the city either repaired or built in order to ensure the due ritual offerings to the gods."

15

The *prytanis* did not leave matters with a one-time renovation, but effected a popular resolution that all of his measures should be

recorded (διὰ χρηματισμοῦ),

16

in order to oblige future *prytaneis* to act respectively.

9

Another Ephesian inscription from the reign of Emperor Commodus (180-192 AD) records a decree of the *gerousia*, which in Imperial times was responsible for financing the cult of Artemis.

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In the *narratio* of the decree it is stated that the Elders are to receive a sum, now not identifiable, from the funds of the *gerousia*,

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so that sacrifices and banquets for the goddess during the mysteries could be hold.

19

Tiberius Claudius Nikomedes, the legal representative of the *gerousia* (καθολικὸς ἑκδικὸς τοῦ συνεδρίου), provided the necessary money through a private foundation for these sacrifices and banquets.

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10

An unknown prytanis from Ephesos had an ancient cult law re-inscribed in excerpts in the 2nd or 3rd century AD.

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This inscription summarizes the ritual obligations of a prytanis, which consisted primarily of the offering of sacrifices. According to this, the prytanis had to light fires and to burn frankincense and aromatic scents on all altars (ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν πάντων)

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as well as to provide 365 sacrificial animals at his own cost – one animal for every day of the year (ιερεῖα προσάγοντα τοῖς θεοῖς νενομισμέναις ἡμέραις τὸν ἀριθμὸν τξε’).

23

Furthermore, he was obliged to arrange and perform the processions and nocturnal religious celebrations, according to the regulations of the forefathers (δεῖ γενέσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια).

24

Prytaneis who neglected these duties had to pay a fine that was used, among other things, for the renovation of the Prytaneion.

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In conclusion, an oracular statement of Apollo Didymaios from the

2nd or 3rd century AD should be mentioned. The enquiry of the priestess of Artemis, Alexandra, as to whether the mysteries should continue to be celebrated for the goddess, was answered by the priests with a confirmation of the ritual tradition: σύμβολα, ῥέζ[ειν] Δηοῦς καὶ κούρης Δηώιδος ὄργια τηδε.

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2. Possible causes of neglect

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The initiatives seen in the aforementioned inscriptions can be interpreted *e contrario* as an indication that cult rituals considered traditional were being neglected. All these initiatives testify to measures that had to be taken because a cessation of a ritual had already occurred or was threatening to occur. There are nonetheless a number of differences among them. The sources permit us to identify quite different causes of neglect.

13

The decree of the Ephesian *gerousia* explicitly names the cause of neglect of the mysteries for Artemis, a custom (ἔθος) that had existed for a long time: financial difficulties had put a stop to sacrifices and banquets (ἔκιδαν χρημάτων).

26

A lack of money appears to have plagued the *gerousia* rather often, for only twenty years before (AD 162/3) the *logistes* of this Ephesian board appealed to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus for help.

27

14

Although the inscription from Akraiphia does not reveal why the festival for Apollo Ptoos was not celebrated for thirty years, financial problems will have played a role here too. This is suggested, at least, by another honorary decree of this Boeotian city in AD 42, which concerns the revival of the cult of Apollo Ptoos after it had suffered financial difficulties owing to a poor harvest. Similar financial straits could, then, have led to the festival being cancelled prior to its restitution by Epaminondas.

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While the neglect of rituals may have been caused by financial problems, these were not the only cause. In the case of the festival of Zeus at Labraunda J. Crampa put forward a different hypothesis as to why this was interrupted. Crampa has pointed to a report by the historian Cassius Dio (3rd century AD) on the involvement of Mylasa in the civil wars of the late Roman Republic.

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As cult rituals frequently were cancelled owing to conditions of war,

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it is possible that in the case of Zeus Labraundos the chaos of civil war had led to a reduction or even cessation of the rituals. When Mylasa was incorporated in the Roman province of Asia under Augustus (12 AD) the Carian city was able to recover from the chaos of the civil war, a recovery, which included the reinstatement of cult life in Labraunda.

16

The inscription of Epinikos of Miletos explicitly states that nobody had remembered the sacrifice for Zeus Soter for quite a long time already (διὰ τὸ [ἐ]κ πλείονος χρόνου μηδένα ὑπομεμ[ε]νημέναι),

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and this can be taken as a clear indication for rituals being forgotten. This potential cause of the neglect of ritual actions is also illustrated by a tale from Aelius Aristides' reports on sacred matters. The orator describes how the population of Asia Minor, terrified by numerous earthquakes in AD 149/150, hurried to undertake processions to the altars of the gods, in order to ask for divine intervention (ἰετηρίας); with time this did, however, die down again (τελευτῶτες ἰετεύοντες ἀπεῖπον).

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17

The two enquiries of the priestess of Artemis, Alexandra, in the oracle at Didyma suggest that uncertainty about the efficacy of rituals could be a further reason for rituals being threatened with neglect. In her first question the priestess, who was consulted by the Milesians as a seeress, enquires worriedly why she has received no more dream visions from the gods since taking office.

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Apparently these problems of a cult functionary entailed

consequences beyond the merely mantic aspect of the cult. It was unclear whether rituals for the goddess should be continued, if Artemis remained silent and the cult appeared to be of no use for human beings. Alexandra's second consultation of the oracle shows, indeed, that the continuation of the rituals was definitely doubtful. The exact words of her question are not preserved, but the content can be fairly confidently conjectured from the answer: Should the mysteries of the goddess be continued at all, when she no longer appears to her people?

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3. The initiators of the discourse

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If one turns one's gaze from the causes of the neglect to the attempts made to preserve or reinvigorate traditional rituals, the first question that poses itself is that of who was responsible for these initiatives. As far as the source material provides information on this point, we can say that they were exclusively members of the 'educated elite' of the polis. Of the above-mentioned people, Damas, Nikomedes, Dionysidoros, and Epaminondas, as well as the unknown *prytanis* from Ephesos, all belonged to this class of well-off benefactors. Where did they obtain the impulses for their actions, what was their motivation? Do their initiatives only show an interest in preserving tradition, or were there other motives? These questions will now be addressed more closely.

19

A glance at the dates of the initiatives shows clearly that several attempts at the *ananeosis* of rituals were made during the reign of Augustus (Epinikos of Miletos, Mylasa, Athens). A connection could be seen here between these initiatives and the attempts by the *princeps* to restore the cult activities everywhere in the Empire, which had been ceased or neglected as a consequence of the confusion of the civil strife and the resulting financial troubles. A representative piece of evidence in this regard is the decree issued by the consuls Octavian and Agrippa in the year 27 BC, which ordered the restoration of sacred territories expropriated for other purposes to the poleis of which they were part; Octavian supported in particular the

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The frequency of local initiatives, which can be observed in the 2nd century AD, suggests a likelihood of a connection with the particular interest of the urban elite in the past, which is displayed in the Greek-speaking East during the first centuries of the Empire. This recurrence to the past took on various forms, as is well known.

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Thus, the literature followed the style and diction of older epochs, personal names patterned on Homeric examples, old rituals and sanctuaries were described (Pausanias, Plutarch), mythographic works by historians sought to prove the relationship between poleis, the memory of important events in Greek history was kept alive (the Persian Wars). This interest fulfilled an important task in the present, as this reference to tradition was used as an aid to determine one's position in the present. The revitalisation of old rituals was intended to strengthen the patriotic feelings of the citizen towards his homeland and to create a more noticeable profile in an increasingly multicultural world.

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Against this background, it is not surprising that many inscriptions clearly reflect an interest in the past. In the case of Damas, for example, it is not only possible to confirm this in a general way, but also in a detail of the inscription. In his proposal he refers to older laws and resolutions on this matter (προϋνομοθέτηται καὶ προεψηφίσται),

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which is not just a hollow phrase. Damas must have read the old resolutions and absorbed them. How can one otherwise explain that 500 staters are threatened as a fine in case of a potential breach of the resolution?

39

This currency was in use in the poleis of Asia Minor in Classical times, perhaps still in Hellenistic times. Damas must have borrowed this fine from a considerably older document.

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Even though the currency as such was no longer familiar, its use gave

the resolution a 'traditional' character.

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The same recourse to traditions no longer current can be observed in the case of an Ephesian *prytanis* of the 2nd/3rd centuries AD, who had old cult laws re-inscribed.

41

By means of collecting and archiving of older texts the *corpus* of one *single* tradition has been created here, which was to function as a point of reference and commencement, thus a kind of canon.

23

These initiatives must be seen in the light of attempts by the urban elites to construct an identity and a social position for themselves, but the personal motivation of each initiator should also be taken into consideration. Thus, Damas' initiative was based not only on his interest in preserving tradition, but also on his personal piety. Piety is not just an empty word in his case, but a plausible motivation, as A. Chaniotis has persuasively shown.

42

For if his piety were but an excuse, and if he had really intended simply to increase his reputation, then he would have had to organise a banquet for all the people (not just the cult personnel) or a spectacular agon, as many of his class actually did.

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While in these initiatives the purpose was to restore ritual traditions and to strengthen the identity of the polis involved, there were also initiatives in which an interest in the past was conjoined to the new developments of the present. The examples of Epaminondas, Nikomedes and Dionysidoros show, in fact, how tradition can be applied as an argument for adapting to new political and religious constellations.

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Even though Epaminondas emphasises that he has taken the great age and the ancient traditions into consideration in renewing the festival for Apollo Ptoos,

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it cannot be overlooked that he also had other motivations, and that his festival was not just simply an unchanged re-introduction of the old one. Epaminondas connected the old rituals for Apollo with the new element of the Imperial cult and thus created a new festival.

This step, of course, cannot be considered in isolation; it is rather a part of a comprehensive strategy by means of which Epaminondas wished to make his loyalty known to the ruler. Already before the renewal of the Ptoia Epaminondas had volunteered to accompany the Panhellenic congratulatory mission to Caligula's ascension to the throne, when no other member of the Boeotian elite was willing to do so.

By establishing a personal relationship to the *princeps*, he was attempting to increase his prestige among the other members of the elite. Thus, Epaminondas presents us with the figure of a representative of the local upper class who intended to raise his profile among this elite by declaring particular loyalty to the Emperor. But he did not want to win respect through his relationship to the Emperor alone; this was also to be achieved by beneficial acts for the people, such as the distributions of money and food during the festival as well as banquets and wine. How much of this was really an innovation on the part of Epaminondas and how much had already existed before the festival was interrupted is difficult to tell. The only certain innovation (ὁ μηδεὶς ἄλλος τῶν προτέρων ἐποίησεν) was providing food for festival overseers and participants.

Without any doubt the numerous gifts to the various social groups made by Epaminondas show that he was attempting to increase his prestige. His efforts were certainly successful: the citizens of the polis gathered for a spontaneous demonstration in his honour,

and his expenses for the festival were the talk of the neighbouring cities.

The festival of the Ptoia in Akraiphia is not the only example of a connection between old and revered cults and the cult of the emperor. Nikomedes did much the same thing by connecting the sacrifice and mysteries of Artemis with a sacrificial ritual for the divine Emperor Commodus. Like in the case of Epaminondas, Nikomedes' major motive consisted in the upgrading of his personal social position. Nikomedes' family acquired a permanent right to a seat in the *gerousia* of Ephesos (πατρογέ[ρ]οντας),

a right which should not be underestimated.

27

There is no doubt that Dionysidoros of Ephesos was a pious man and very attached to the traditions of his home. After all, he himself paid for repairs to the altars, took over the cost of the sacrifices, and put forward a proposal to record all of his measures in order to obligate his successors to do the same.

49

But he, too, was more than simply a ‘traditionalist’, for by establishing an oracle in the prytaneion of the city he ensured that the cult obligations of an Ephesian *prytanis* would be extended by an element that had not previously existed in Ephesos.

4. The addresses and the persuasion strategies

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Independently of their various motives, all the men who actively involved themselves in the preservation or renewal of traditional rituals had to persuade their fellow citizens of the importance, urgency or use of their suggestions. In other words, they had to face public debate, although in different contexts. Their inscriptions alone indicate that, beyond individual cases, a wider public was to be influenced in favour of preservation of old rituals.

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The re-inscribing of older cult regulations as seen in the example of the Ephesian inscription can serve as a proof of such discussions.

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A very fragmentary inscription from the same period is closely connected to the recording of old cult laws; it contains the speech of a *prytanis*, who exhorts all citizens, and in particular his colleagues in office, to follow the laws of their forefathers, which are recorded in the archive.

51

Possibly both the renewed inscription and the speech are to be ascribed to the initiative of the same person. The magistrate may have had the old *leges sacrae* inscribed on a stele in the archive first,

and then approached the public with the speech. The richly decorated stele, with its Ionian *aedicula* and ornamented top, appears to reflect the connection with tradition in its exterior.

52

30

Whatever the context of the above-named initiatives, their initiators had to use arguments in order to win support for the matter. The appeal to collective piety and the consciousness of tradition represented an important means of persuasion, and can be seen in the reasons given for the popular resolution initiated by Damas: ὁ δῆμος ἡμῶν τὴν ἐκ προγόνων εἰσφερόμενος εὐσέβειαν εἰς τε ... Ἀπόλλωνα Διδυμέα καὶ εἰς τὸν Δελφεῖνιον ... καὶ εἰς τοὺς ... Σεβαστούς.

53

31

The Ephesian *gerousia* appealed to a similar sort of 'living' tradition in the attempt to revive the sacrifice and mysteries for Artemis, by pointing out that King Lysimachos had formerly regulated the cult: [ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄν]ωθεν ὑπὸ τὸν οἰκισμὸν τῆς πόλεως [χρόνοις Λυσίμαχον τὸν βασιλέα ...] πάντα περί τε μυστηρίων καὶ θυσιῶν [... ἄριστα διακεκοσμημέναι].

54

The position occupied by Lysimachos in the consciousness of the citizens,

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as the new founder of the polis, makes it probable that this was not a reference to some long-forgotten past, but an important argument in the discussion of the Elders.

32

Epaminondas, too, appealed to the common tradition, but he added a further element to the discussion. There is an explicit mention in the inscription of the fact that the so brilliantly revived festival became the talk of the town in neighbouring poleis.

56

This can be seen as an indication that Epaminondas used the concept of competition as an argument in favour of his initiative. His fellow citizens were to understand that their polis would be able to outclass other towns in this manner. For, as the rhetor Dion of Prusa stated, the Greek poleis of the Imperial period were no longer able to

distinguish themselves through wars and colonisation, but certainly by means of sacrifices and festivals.

57

33

The idea of competition among cities or sanctuaries also played an important role in the arguments of the Ephesian *prytanis* Dionysidoros. He will have reminded his fellow citizens that the Ionian metropolis had no oracle of its own, while at no great distance the oracle of Clarian Apollo flourished. If Ephesos founded a competing oracular cult of this kind in the city itself, then this would not only increase the fame of the city, but also be financially advantageous. Oracles brought visitors, who would spend money for goods and services in Ephesos and thus contribute to the prosperity and economic wealth of the city.

34

This last point, the expectation of economic advantages, represented a strong argument as such. We may assume that a discussion preceded every resolution of the popular assembly or other political body concerning the revival of a ritual, a discussion in which the costs and benefits of this step were compared. What were the arguments presented by the initiators to justify the renewal of sacrifices, mystery festivals, and similar rituals, and how did their opponents present their position?

58

The concrete arguments may have varied from case to case, but the collective benefit to be expected from the suggested initiative must have been one of the persuasion strategies. This benefit consisted not only of a general increase in the prestige of the town as compared with other poleis, as in the case of the festival of Akraiphia, but also in material advantages for the initiators. Nikomedes, for instance, did not just call on the memory of King Lysimachos. Following a tendency, which can be observed in other places during the Imperial period, he combined sacrifice and banquets with distributions of money for the members of the *gerousia*.

59

Epaminondas, too, did not forget to attract support among the population not only by pointing to the expected financial benefits, but also with the distribution of money, gifts of sweet wine or extensive feasts.

Financial considerations could sometimes be used *in favor* of rituals, but in some cases they could become a source of opposition. In Miletos at the end of the 1st century AD we can assume that the *molpoi* and the *kosmoi* preferred to receive payments rather than participate in the traditional ritual banquet. In Athens (cf. also further below) a small percentage of the population was not interested in the revival of cults in Attica, as these citizens had in all probability acquired the properties on which the corresponding sanctuaries were located, and understandably they were reluctant to give them back.

Since decrees, in effect, only record the end of a public process of discussion, but not its course, they tend to give the impression that a general consensus had been reached on the basis of the arguments mentioned. The rare examples, which throw some light on possible opposition, are all the more interesting for this reason.

Fortunately, the opposition is quite visible in one of the initiatives investigated here. For, on the basis of the resolution for the restoration of some 80 sanctuaries in Attika, we can see that these measures did not correspond to the will of the entire demos. The list of restored sanctuaries clearly shows that this resolution emphasized the city's traditions. Most sanctuaries had some connection to the Persian Wars and thus to a famous epoch in the history of the Athenian polis, which was still commemorated centuries later with pride.

However, not all Athenian citizens recognized the necessity of reviving these traditions, which had been suspended in the meantime.

The decree records, in fact, the votes cast *against* this resolution: 155 Athenian citizens refused to sanction the resolution.

But what does this ballot reflect? For what reasons did these citizens vote against the resolution? G.R. Culley has examined this question and put forth the hypothesis that the restoration of so many sanctuaries would have been a considerable burden on Athens, in view of the costs for sacrificial animals, incenses etc.; this reason

resulted in its rejection.

62

This hypothesis is certainly justified, but the motivation of the opponents can be established in much more concrete terms, if one examines more closely the conditions of execution connected to the restitution. There, the *strategos* Metrodoros is instructed to prevent the following in future. Transactions concerning the property of sanctuaries and its misappropriation for security or as gifts (ἀποτίμημα ἢ δῶρον λαβεῖν).

63

If one considers these provisions, then it seems quite probable that hidden behind the 155 opposing votes were those in some way in possession of a sanctuary (and its sacral land). The resolution, then, would have meant a financial loss for them. In comparison to the 3461 votes in favour of the resolution, the 155 opposing votes represent a minority, but one which preferred personal gain to a glorious past, and defended its position correspondingly. The cults and rites had indeed been suspended long since, not only for the 155 opponents, but also for those in favour of the resolution – as the detailed description of all places involved and their history makes probable.

39

The observation that opposition to resolutions of restoration could exist throws up another question: what were the long-term chances of success for such an initiative of restoration? Some sources do permit us to draw a few conclusions in this direction, based on indications.

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The initiative of Nikomedes of Ephesos is such a case. Here members of the *gerousia* obliged themselves to carry out the rituals without curtailment, even if Nikomedes' foundation could no longer function as a source of funding. In this case the income from other resources was to be used for sacrifices and banquets.

64

In other words, the supporters of new or revived regulations were aware of the fact that their initiatives could be short lived; therefore, they attempted to take measures in order to counteract this. Nikomedes' initiative represents the impulse of a single individual, but the majority of the corporation (the *gerousia*) supported and

guaranteed it.

41

The example of Damas of Miletos, too, confronts us with this same problem. Achieving broad acceptance in the community certainly increased the chances of survival of such an initiative. The threat of sanctions in case the regulation was somehow violated represented a kind of security mechanism. Thus, Damas had to use all his prestige in the *ekklesia* to overcome opposition. This opposition can undoubtedly be seen in the fact that a catalogue of sanctions for potential contravention is considerably longer than the actual regulations of the decree.

65

Why should Damas have insisted on such numerous mechanisms of enforcement, unless he had seen threats to his regulations from various sides? There were, firstly, the citizens of Miletos, who were excluded from the revived ritual for the most part; the prophets in their turn could find the duties onerous, so that they would attempt to substitute the banquets with payments to the *molpoi* and *kosmoi*. Damas wanted to see this, at least, prohibited under threat of sanctions. Not even the cult personnel themselves, then, appear to have supported the renewal of ritual traditions, but preferred a payment instead. The fact that Damas himself had to take on two further terms of office as prophet also illuminates the limited chances for his 'attempt at revival'. Further, fragmentary inscriptions of a later time, in which other prophets claimed merit for the renewal of ritual traditions, indicate that these traditions fell into disuse and had to be renewed. Continuous success clearly was not the lot of these initiatives, but rather a changing course of restitutions and neglect.

42

This variation between restitution and neglect can be confirmed for the ritual duties of the Ephesian *prytaneis* as well. Twice the attempt was made to regulate these duties anew: Dionysidoros renewed numerous altars in the city territory during his term of office as a *prytanis*, and managed to have the assembly approve the recording of his activity as a guide for later officials. Around two hundred years later, another holder of this office compiled a collection of ancient cult regulations (κεφάλαιον νόμου πατρίου) and had this inscription put up at the town theatre. From this we may conclude

that the Ephesian *prytaneis* were repeatedly neglectful of their ritual duties. The reasons for this may be seen most probably in the financial burden imposed by this office – one need only recall the costs for 365 sacrificial animals per year -, which many attempted to avoid. There was, however, evidently no will to alter these circumstances either. Seen against this background, the initiatives of a Dionysidoros and his colleague are to be evaluated as nothing more than the activities of individuals interrupting long periods of neglect. Characteristically, Dionysidoros had the altars renovated that had been so long in disuse and for this reason in poor condition.

43

The case of Epinikos of Miletos, too, is an impressive example in the series of initiatives whose success was limited. The Milesians did succeed in having a commission of *synedroi* and *strategoi* set up,

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who dealt with the suggestion that a sacrifice for Zeus should be revived. But what he attained with this committee was much less than what his compatriot Damas was to attain. Epinikos could not even get the popular assembly to debate the matter. The commission only permitted him to pay for the ritual out of his own pocket. The limited interest shown by the polis of Miletos in the revival of this ritual can also be seen in the fact that the commission did not even give Epinikos money to have these meagre results inscribed; he himself had to pay for a stele with the names of those who followed his example. For in the years following Epinikos' initiative there were some citizens who were prepared to carry out the sacrifice, although their names cannot be identified owing to the fragmentary condition of the stele. The oracular inscription of a certain Theon, son of Theon, hardly twenty years after Epinikos, is the last epigraphical evidence for the sacrifice being carried out.

67

After this, the traces of the renewed sacrifice vanish.

44

'There are men who do not forget the old ways', notes Athenaios (XIV, 632a-b). The analysis of the individual cases permits the conclusion that recourse to tradition or to the traditional cults and rituals was used both as an argument for their preservation and revival and for their alteration. But we cannot assume that these

initiatives were successful in a long term. Where the local context permits an examination of the chances of success, this examination frequently shows how temporary these attempts of restitution were. But this did not discourage the initiators from trying again and again to persuade their fellow-citizens of the worth of a dying or already extinct traditional ritual practice.

Notes

1 Pausanias, VIII, 31, 9 – 32, 3.

2 Paus., VIII, 15, 5: ἐνταῦθα ἔτι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Φερεᾶται καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσιν.

3 I. Didyma 199, 1. 6-7.

4 In the scholarly discussion the dates of the resolution vary between the time of Sulla and the Imperial period. Here, I follow their attribution to the Augustan period, which, in my opinion, G.R. Culley, “The Restoration of Sanctuaries in Attica”, *Hesperia* 44 (1975), p. 207-223 has quite persuasively supported with orthographic, palaeographic, prosopographic and archaeological evidence. For this text see more recently W. Ameling, K. Bringmann, B. Schmidt-Dounas, *Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an griechische Städte und Heiligtümer. Teil 1. Zeugnisse und Kommentare*, Berlin, 1995, p. 60-61, n° 26a. For further bibliography (in particular for the date) see SEG 31, 107 and 33, 136.

5 SEG 26, 121, 1. 7.

6 I. Labraunda 54A with the comments of the editor (p. 87-88).

7 Cf. I. Labraunda 54B.

8 IG VII 2712, 1. 56. Cf. L. Robert, *Opera minora selecta. Épigraphie et antiquités grecques VII*, Amsterdam, 1990, p. 761.

9 IG VII 2712, 1. 67.

10 LSAM 53 (= Milet VI 1, 134).

11 Cf. A. Chaniotis, “Negotiating Religion in the Cities of the Eastern Roman Empire”, *Kernos* 16 (2003), p. 179-180; *id.*, “Das Bankett des Damas und der Hymnos des Sosandros: Öffentlicher Diskurs über Rituale in den griechischen Städten der Kaiserzeit”, in D. Harth, G. Schenk (eds), *Ritualdynamik. Kulturübergreifende Studien zur Theorie und Geschichte rituellen Handelns*, Heidelberg, 2004, p. 291-304. The association of the *kosmoi* was responsible for the ornamentation of the sanctuary in the cult of Apollo Didymaios, whereas the *molpoi* were singers in the cult of Apollo Delphinios.

- 12LSAM 53, 1. 13-16.
- 13LSAM 53, 1. 16-17.
- 14I.Ephesos 1024.
- 15I.Ephesos 1024, 1. 8-9.
- 16I.Ephesos 1024, 1. 11-12.
- 17 On the Ephesian *gerousia*: J.H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerousia*, Baltimore, 1941, p. 20-27.
- 18I.Ephesos 26, 1. 5: ἀν τῶν κοινῶν τῆς γερουσίας χρημάτων.
- 19I.Ephesos 26, 1. 5-6: [λαβόντας εὖωχεῖν καὶ θύειν] τῇ θεᾷ.
- 20I.Ephesos 26, 1. 7-8.
- 21I.Ephesos 10 (= LSS 121)
- 22I.Ephesos 10, 1. 3-4.
- 23I.Ephesos 10, 1. 5-7.
- 24I.Ephesos 10, 1. 14-15.
- 25 R. Merkelbach, J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten I*, Stuttgart/Leipzig, 1998 (= SGO), 01/19/05. 10-11.
- 26I.Ephesos 26, 1. 6.
- 27I.Ephesos 25.
- 28SEG 15, 330.
- 29 Cassius Dio, XLVIII, 26.
- 30E.g. Tralleis, Olympia. A list can be found in L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes. Recherches sur les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie mineure*, Paris, 1937, p. 426-429. See also A. Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic World: A Social and Cultural History*, Oxford, 2005, p. 122 and 162.
- 31I.Didyma 199, 1. 9-10.
- 32 Aelius Aristides, 40, 38-39.
- 33SGO, 01/19/05. 2-7.
- 34 An oracle of the Imperial period from Didyma (I.Didyma 499), unfortunately very fragmentary, may have had a similar background: a man named [...]μμίας Ἑρμ[ίου] asks whether a festival should take place earlier than usual. In this case, too, the god recommended keeping up the traditional rites ([ἐ]στὶ τελεῖν [πατρικ]ῇ γνώμῃ λῶον καὶ ἄμεινον)).
- 35I.Ephesos 18B, 1. 1-7; See now B. Dignas, *Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, Oxford, 2002, p. 170-177.
- 36 The scholarship on the interest in the Greek past under Roman rule is very extensive; see e.g., E.L. Bowie, "Greeks and the Past in the Second Sophistic", in M.I. Finley (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Society*, London, 1974, p. 166-209; P. Weiss, "Lebendiger Mythos. Gründerheroen und städtische Gründungstraditionen im griechisch-römischen Osten", *WJA* 10 (1984), p. 179-208; A. Chaniotis, *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften*, Stuttgart, 1988, p. 138; R. Lindner, *Mythos und Identität. Studien zur Selbstdarstellung kleinasiatischer Städte in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Stuttgart, 1994; A. Spawforth, "Symbol of Unity? The Persian Wars Tradition in the Roman

Empire”, in S. Hornblower (ed.), *Greek Historiography*, Oxford, 1994, p. 233-247; S. Swain, *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World*, AD 50-250, Oxford, 1996; CP. Jones, *Kinship and Diplomacy in the Ancient World*, Cambridge Ma. / London, 1999; T.A. Schmitz, “Performing History in the Second Sophistic”, in M. Zimmermann (ed.), *Geschichtsschreibung und politischer Wandel im 3- Jh. n. Chr.*, Stuttgart, 1999, p. 71-92; P. Veyne, “L’identité grecque devant Rome et l’empereur”, *REG* 112 (1999), p. 510-567; D. Braund, J. Wilkins (eds), *Athenaeus and his World. Reading Greek Culture in the Roman Empire*, Exeter, 2000; S. Goldhill (ed.), *Being Greek under Rome. Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire*, Cambridge, 2001. There are more examples of this antiquarian interest in literature of the Imperial period, but also in inscriptions. Thus, according to Athenaios, Emperor Hadrian is supposed to have founded a cult of the Athenian statesman Alkibiades (Athenaios, XIII, 574), and the polis of Bargylia renewed a cult of Alexander the Great under the Empire (OGIS 3).

37Cf. Weiss, *l.c.* (n. 36), p. 193-194; Chaniotis, *o.c.* (n. 36), p. 139.

38LSAM 53, 1. 17-18.

39LSAM 53, 1. 28.

40Cf. the archival research of the priest Leon of Panamara: *I Stratonikeia* 7 with the comments of Chaniotis, *o.c.* (n. 36), p. 302-303.

41 M. Wörrle, “Die *lex sacra* von der Hallenstrasse (Inv. 1965, 20)”, in C. Habicht (ed.), *Die Inschriften des Askteptions*, Berlin, 1969, p. 186 n. 99.

42Cf. Chaniotis, *l.c.* (n. 11; 2003), p. 183.

43IG VII 2712, 1. 57-58: φιλοδοξήσας τὸ ἀνανεώσασθαι τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τοῦ ἀγῶνος.

44IG VII 2712, 1. 58-59: τῶν μεγάλων Πτωίων καὶ Καισαρήων κτίστης. The combination of the emperor cult with a pre-existing festival is very common, as the names of agons reveal; *e.g.*, the old festival of Artemis Perasia at Kastabala became the agon Sebereia Peraseia (J. Nollé, *Side im Altertum. Geschichte und Zeugnisse. Band II*, Bonn, 2001, n° 130); in Thessalonike, old agons for Apollo Pythios and the Kabeiroi were connected with celebrations for the emperor (*e.g.*, SEG 49, 817: Kaisareia Epinikia Kabeiria Pythia); in Perge, the festival of Artemis was connected with that for Vespasian (*I. Perge* 60-61: Artemisioi Vespasianioi Agones).

45IG VII 2712, 1. 37-46.

46IG VII 2712, 1. 74. I owe the interpretation of σιηνίτης to A. Chaniotis.

47IG VII 2712, 1. 82-85.

48I Ephesos 26, 1. 24.

49I Ephesos 1024, 1. 10.

50Cf. Chaniotis, *o.c.* (n. 36), p. 276.

51I Ephesos 1201A, 1. 1-4: νόμοι πόλ[εως] πάτρια ἀναγεγραμμένοι εἰσὶν] ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις [ἀρχείοις· πάντας οὖν τοὺς πολίτας, μά]λιστα δὲ τοὺς πρυτ[άνεις] χρῆ δρᾶν πᾶν τὸ νενομισ[μένον] κατὰ τοὺς π[άτριους] νόμους].

52 Unfortunately, the stele was found in the street paving in front of the theatre, so

that its original position can no longer be identified.

53LSAM 53, 1. 4-10.

54L.Ephesos 26, 1. 2-4.

55Cf. G. Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos. Foundation Myths of a Roman City*, London/ New York, 1991, p. 114.

56IG VII 2712, 1. 78-79.

57 Dion Chrysostomos, XXXI, 102.

58 According to the model of cult economy as presented by A. Michaels, *Zur Dynamik von Ritualkomplexen*, *Forum Ritualdynamik* 3, Heidelberg, 2003, p. 6-10.

59I.Ephesos 26, 1. 11-12: ἐξωθεν καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Νεικομήδους φιλοτειμίας λαβεῖν] ἁττινὴν μίαν.

60Cf. N.A. Robertson, "Point of Precedence at Plataia. The dispute between Athens and Sparta over leading the procession", *Hesperia* 55 (1986), p. 88-102. One need only think of the verbal duel between Athens and Sparta on the occasion of the festival of Eleutheria of Plataia, with which the Greeks commemorated their victory over the Persian invaders (479 BC). The Athenians vehemently insisted on the first place in the procession (*propompeid*) on the grounds of their efforts to save Greece. See also A. Chaniotis, "Gedenktage der Griechen: Ihre Bedeutung für das Geschichtsbewusstsein griechischer Poleis", in J. Assmann (ed.), *Das Fest und das Heilige. Religiöse Kontrapunkte zur Alltagswelt*, Gütersloh, 1991, p. 124, 132-134, 141-142.

61SEG 26, 121, 1. 3.

62Cf. Culley, *l.c.* (n. 4), p. 288.

63SEG 26, 121, 1. 8-9.

64I.Ephesos 26, 1. 16.

65Cf. Chaniotis, *l.c.* (n. 11; 2003) p. 180.

66I.Didyma 199.

67I.Didyma 262; 263.

The Magistrate and the Ocean: Acclamations and Ritualised Communication in Town Gatherings in Roman Egypt

Thomas Kruse

1

Recently attention has been drawn once again to the role of acclamations as forms of ritualised communication by Hans-Ulrich Wiemer.

1

Central to his contribution to the theme is the increasing importance of such “loud and rhythmic exclamations of praise, censure and demand”

2

in the late Roman Empire as a result of the changed character of the standing of the emperor and his desire to ensure as wide as possible an involvement of the empire’s population in ceremonies, which gave expression to loyalty to the ruler. Since for this purpose the traditional medium of rhetoric had no great range and was on any given occasion only able to reach an audience, which happened to be present and was more or less numerically limited, “versuchten die römischen Kaiser der Spätantike... das gesamte Reich mit einem Netz symbolischer Kommunikation zu umspannen”, the most prominent element of which were acclamations, which enabled a direct form of the symbolic, ritualised communication between ruler and subjects and gave him at the same time a way in the face of an ever more extended and differentiated administration to assess the degree of approval and criticism of the administrative practice of the high officials, because the latter were also included in the acclamations.

3

It is against this backdrop that we should view the practice of protocolling the acclamations, which were effected on the orders of the emperor and probably goes back to a law of Constantine of the year 331, which expressly entitled everyone to praise or to reprehend the provincial governors in public acclamations, so that he himself might decide after careful examination (it was for this purpose that the acclamations were to be communicated to him) upon their possible dismissal.

4

The protocolling of acclamations was, however, already standard practice before the time of Constantine. This is illustrated by protocols of the meetings of the city councils of Egyptian nome metropoleis from the 3rd century, which list such acclamations.

5

In the later 4th century acclamations had apparently become so commonplace, that the protocols could at least dispense with the list of those acclamations, which were made at the beginning of a meeting and did not have the function of documenting a decision of the city council.

6

Thus for example at the beginning of the protocol of a meeting of the βουλή of the middle Egyptian city of Oxyrhynchos from the year 370 AD after the lapidary note “after the acclamations” (μετὰ τὰς εὐφημίας) one proceeds to the order of the day.

7

3

The high dignity, which from the time of Constantine was bestowed upon the acclamations through imperial authority, was certainly partly responsible for the usual practice of inscriptional recording of acclamations, an honour accorded to a benefactor of the Carian city of Aphrodisias named Albinus. The acclamations accorded to this notable were saved for posterity on the columns of a public building, which was restored or founded by him in the 5th or 6th century.

8

Particularly impressive records from the 3rd century are the acclamations preserved by an inscription from the year 275/6 AD, which were accorded to the city of Perge

9

on the occasion of an imperial festival, as well as those with which a

local preserver of law and order who was titled “pursuer of robbers” (ληστοδιώκτης) was honoured by the inscription from Termessos in Pisidia from the year 282/3 AD.

10

The last three examples just mentioned demonstrate, that in late antiquity the emperor was by far the most important recipient of acclamations, but that small provincial cities and their notables were also regular recipients of such honours.

4

The papyrus *P.Oxy* I 41 (= *W.Chr.* 45) from Oxyrhynchos, which is to be discussed below, is concerned with such a notable. The papyrus contains the protocol of a public meeting in the city with an extensive description of the acclamations, which were made in honour of one of their magistrates. The character of this meeting is not made clear by the text. The fact, however, that it apparently took place in the context of a religious festival, as is discernable from the fragmentary first line, where we read *ἡμετέρας πανηγύρεως οὔσης*, points with some degree of certainty to a meeting on the occasion of a religious festival rather than to a regular meeting of the city council or indeed a meeting of the *Demos* of the city.

11

It is also not possible to date the text exactly. The circumstance that two of the official titles (*σύνδικος* and *καθολικός*), which occur in the text, are not attested before the 3rd century and that the plural *Αὔγουστοι κύριοι*, with which more than simply one emperor is addressed, suggests a joint rule of several rulers, points to a date around 300 AD, which is compatible with palaeographical considerations.

5

Prominent guests were present at the meeting. They are not named but appear under their official titles and were also celebrated in the acclamations, first and foremost the provincial governor (*ἡγεμών*), the highest financial official of the province (*καθολικός*, lat. *rationalis*), the *defensor civitatis* of the city (*σύνδικος*) and the *strategos* of the *nome* (*στρατηγός*).

6

The central point of the proceedings, which are described in the text, is the honouring or rather the intended honouring of a high city notable, that is the *πρύτανις* *Dioskoros*, the president of the city

council. The gathering requests this honour from the high officials present at the meeting, in particular from the Katholikos.

7

So that this may be understood more clearly I present the Greek text of the original and add my own translation of it.

[± 30 Ιτρ.]αρίας πανηγύρεως οὔσης | [.....τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις] εἰς
[ἐ]ῶνα τὸ κράτος | τ[ῶ]ν [Ῥ]ωμαίων, Ἄγουστοι κύριοι, εὐτύχη
[ἡ]γεμ[ώ]ν, εὐτυχῶ[ς] τῷ καθολικῷ, | Ὡμαιαναι πρύτανι,
Ὡμαιαναι δόξα πόλεω[ς], Ὡμαιαναι Διό[σκ]ορε πρωτοπολίτα· β
ἐπὶ σοῦ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ πλέον γίνεται, ἀρχηγὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, Ισιῆν
φιλῖ σε καὶ ἀναβαίνει, | εὐτυχῶς τῷ φιλοπολίτῃ, εὐτυχῶς τῷ
φιλομετρίῳ, ἀρχηγὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, κτίστα τῆς | π[ό]λεως . . .]......
Ὡμαιαναι . . . ου[. . .], ψηφισθήτω ὁ πρύ(τανις) ἐν τυαύτῃ [ἡ]μέρ[α].
| Πολλῶν ψηφισμάτων ἄξιος, πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύομεν διὰ
σαί, πρύτανι. | Δέησιν τῷ καθολικῷ περὶ τοῦ πρυτάνεως,
εὐτυχῶς τῷ καθολικῷ δεόμεθα, |¹⁰ καθολικέ, τὸν πρύτανιν τῇ
πόλιν, εὐερ[γέ]τα κα[θολι]καί, τὸν κτίστην τῇ πόλιν, | Ἄγουστοι
κύριοι εἰς τὸν ἐῶνα δέησ[ιν] τῷ [καθολι]κῷ περὶ τοῦ πρυτάνεως
| τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῖς μετρίοις, [[ισ]]ᾶρχο[ν]τα

12

[τοῖς.....], τὸν ἄρχοντα τῇ πόλιν, τὸν | κηδεμόνα τῇ πόλιν, τὸν
φιλομέτριον [τῇ π]όλ[ι], τὸ[ν] κτίστην τῇ πόλιν, εὐτύχη | ἡγεμῶν,
εὐτύχη καθολικαί, εὐεργ[έ]τα ἡγεμῶν, εὐεργέτα καθολικαί,
δεόμεθα | καθολικοί, περὶ τοῦ πρυτάνεως ψηφισθῆτω ὁ
πρύτανις, ψηφισθῆτω ἐν τυαύ | τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. τοῦτο πρῶτον καὶ
ἀναγκαῖον. Ὁ πρύ(τανις) εἴπ(εν) “τὴν μὲν παρ’ ὑμῶν | τιμὴν
ἀσπάζομαι καὶ γε ἐπὶ τούτῳ σφόδρα χαίρω· τὰς δὲ τοιαύτα[ς] |
μαρτυρίας ἀξιώ εἰς καιρὸν ἔννομον ὑπερτεθῆναι, ἐν [τούτῳ] ᾧ
καὶ ὑμῖς | βεβαίως παρέχ[ον]ε[τε]ς καὶ ἐγὼ ἀ[σφ]αλῶς
λαμβάνω.” Ὁ δῆμος ἐβόησεν |²⁰ “πολλῶν ψηφισμάτων ἄξιος, τὸ
νομ[ι] . . .]αν εἰς τὸ μέσον, Ἄγουστοι κύριοι, | πᾶσαι νῆμαι, τοῖς
Ῥωμαίοις εἰς ἐῶνα τὸ κράτος τῶν Ῥωμαίων, εὐτύχη ἡγεμῶ[ν], |
σωτήρ μετρίων, καθολικαί, δεόμεθα, καθολικαί, | τὸν πρύτανιν
τῇ πόλιν, τὸν φ[ιλο] | μέτριον, τὸν κτίστην τῇ πόλιν δεόμε[ε]θα,
καθολικαί, σῶσον πόλιν | τοῖς κυρίοις, εὐεργέτα καθολικαί, τὸν
[.....]να τῇ πόλιν, τὸν φιλοπολὶν τῇ πόλ[ι].” |²⁵ Ἀριστίων σύνδικος
εἴπ(εν), “τὴν ἀρ . . . [.....] παραθησόμεθα τῇ κρατίστ[ῃ] β[ο]ουλῇ.”
| Ὁ δῆμος, “δεόμεθα, καθολικαί, τὸ[ν] κ[η]δε[μ]όνα τ[ῇ] πόλιν, τὸν
κτίστην | τῇ πόλιν. στρατηγὲ πισταί, εἰρήνην πόλεως. [Ω]μαναί
Διοσικουρίδῃ, πρωτοπολίτα, | Ὡμαναί Σεύθῃ, πρωτοπολίτα,
ισάρχων, ισ[ο]πολίτ<a>, | ἀγνοὶ πιστοὶ σύνδικοι, ἀγνοὶ πιστοὶ
συ[ν]ή[γο]ροι, ἰς ὥρας πᾶσι τοῖς |³⁰ τὴν πόλιν φιλοῦσιν,
Ἄγουστοι κύριοι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

2 1. αἰῶνα (cf. 11,21) 3 1. Ἀγούστοι (cf. 11, 30); 1. εὐτύχει (cf. 13,14)

4 1. Ὡμεανέ (cf. 7) 5 1. ἀρχηγέ 7 1. τοιαύτη (cf. 15) 8 1. διὰ σε 10 1.

καθολικέ (cf. 14, 15, 22, 24, 26) 14 καὶ δεόμεθα ed. pr. (cf. BL 1 312) 17

ᾧ above the line 21 1. πᾶσαι; πασεῖνι, καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ed. pr. (cf.

BL I 312) 24 τὸν [εὐφορ]να ed. pr. 25 τὴν ἀπ[αίτησιν υμῶν] BL I 312 27 1. πιστέ; 1. Ὡμεανέ (cf. 28)

... as the ... festival gathering took place [the people exclaimed: to the Romans] for all eternity the rule of the Romans! The lords Augusti! Long live the prefect, long live the Katholikos! Long live the Prytanis, bravo, glory of the city, Hurrah, Dioskoros, you foremost of citizens! Everything that is good will be increased under your administration, you initiator of good things! The Nile loves you as the blessed (Hesies) and rises! Long live he, who loves his fellow citizens, long live he, who loves moderation, initiator of good things, founder of the city! ... Bravo ... A conferment (of honour) should be passed for the Prytanis on this day! He is worthy of many conferments! Many are the blessings we enjoy through you, Prytanis! On behalf of the Prytanis we make our plea to the Katholikos, long live the Katholikos! We ask, Katholikos, for the Prytanis for the city! Beneficent Katholikos, for the founder for the city! May the lords Augusti live forever! The plea to the Katholikos on behalf of the Prytanis: the archon for the less well-off, the isarchon for the the archon for the city, the guardian for the city, the lover of justice for the city the founder for the city! Long live the prefect, long live the Katholikos! Beneficent prefect, beneficent Katholikos! We beseech you, Katholikos, concerning the Prytanis: a conferment (of honour) should be ratified for the Prytanis, the conferment should be ratified today, this is is the first and foremost duty, the most important duty!" The Prytanis said: "I welcome your honours and am most gratified by them. I beseech you that these tokens (of your honour) be postponed to a meeting to a legitimate meeting, at which you may make them with authoritative force and I can accept them with assurance." The Demos cried: "You are worth of many conferments, ...! The lords Augusti, all victorious! For the Romans the power of the Romans forever! Long live the prefect, saviour of the less well-off! O Katholikos, we beseech you, Katholikos: the Prytanis for the city, the lover of justice for the city, the founder for the city! We beseech you, Katholikos, preserve the city for the emperors! Beneficent Katholikos! The ... for the city, he who loves his fellow citizens for the city." Aristion, the Syndikos, said: "We shall present [your petition] to the trusty council." The Demos: "We ask, Katholikos, for the guardian for the city, the founder for the city! Trusty strategos, peace of the city! Hurrah, Dioskurides, foremost of citizens! Hurrah Seuthes, foremost of citizens, Isarchon, Isopolit! True, trusty Syndikoi! Long life to all who love the city! May the lords Augusti live forever!"

The text is divided into clearly distinguishable sections. At the beginning with a reference to the Panegyris, which was taking place there is a description of the circumstances, under which what follows happened. Directly after this description of the situation there is a

hole in the text. The demonstration of approval must, however, have started at this point – perhaps, as later, it began with an acclamation of the emperors, because immediately following this in second position the Romans are already cheered with acclamations, which express the wish that their rule should be forever. Thereafter come the emperors, followed by good wishes for the provincial governor and the Katholikos.

9

The acclamations offered to the rulers and the high officials of the province constitute to a certain extent simply the preliminaries for the following series of acclamations for the Prytanis Dioskoros, the aim of which is to bring about a conferment of honour. These acclamations for the Prytanis are interrupted on a number of occasions by ones for the emperors, the governor and the Katholikos. It is the Katholikos who receives by far the most acclamations, as it is from his activity and assent that the planned honouring of the Prytanis seems to depend heavily. The *rationalis* appears here quite clearly as the addressee of the downright vehement pleas of the crowd, to preserve the guardian of the city, the magistrate for the less well off and all the other epitheta, which are used to glorify the Prytanis.

10

The intervention of the Prytanis in lines 16-19 marks the end of the first section of the text. The Prytanis, who had so far listened to the effusive utterances of affection of the gathered crowd in silence, now replays to the crowd and assures them, how much he appreciates and is pleased by the honour bestowed by them upon him. He does not, however, wish that the decision should be made here and now, but that, as he expresses it, this should be postponed to a legal point of time, on which this honour may be bestowed upon him in a rightful manner and he also may accept it without any hindrance.

11

This presumably means that the Prytanis wants to point out that the „spontaneous” upsurge of emotion of the crowd in his honour during a festival gathering can and should not be turned into a regular decision to bestow honour, because the gathering of the Panegyris does not have the status of a decision making body, such as a regular meeting of the city council, and a decision made by the crowd would

consequently lack legality. It is also interesting that the Prytanis characterises the acclamations as „witnesses” (μαρτυρίας), the handling of which is to be put off until a later point of time. The acclamations consequently are a witness to how much the crowd desires honour for the Prytanis, they are thus at the same time also witnesses of the legitimacy of the honouring. It is for this reason that one understands why they are evidently so painstakingly protocolled in the present text. They are granted the status of legally valid evidence for the legitimacy of the honouring of the Prytanis, because they manifest the collective approval of the community. For this reason it is intended that they should be used in the formal procedure, which leads to the bestowing of honour.

13

12

The gathering of the people, which apparently does not want to be held back by the legal objections of Dioskoros and is characterised as δῆμος for the first time, answers the Prytanis directly by breaking out loud (ἐβόησεν) in a new series of acclamations.

14

13

This second series of acclamations (lines 19-24), which constitutes the third section of the text, is shorter than the first, but is structured in a quite similar fashion, i.e. once again the rulers, the Romans and the high officials of the province have acclamations bestowed upon them and then once again the Katholikos is assailed upon, to present the city with its desired benefactor in the person of the Prytanis Dioskoros, in as much as he should authorise his honouring. What is missing in the second series are the acclamations made directly to the Prytanis himself.

14

There follows a new intervention, which makes up the fourth section. This time it is the Syndikos Aristion, who assures the crowd, that its desire will be submitted to the city council. Thereupon the crowd turns to the Katholikos for the last time with their plea concerning the “Guardian of the city” etc. and breaks out in a series of acclamations, with which this time the local notables of the city and the nome are celebrated, before general cries of approval for “all those who love the city” and the rulers closes this fifth and final section of the protocol.

It is not clear why the decision to honour the Prytanis demanded by the gathering needed to be authorised by the καθολικός, who was at that period the highest financial officer of the whole province. The καθολικός who was present throughout the gathering was, as we have seen above, the most important addressee of vehement pleas, one ought to say, demands of the crowd that the Prytanis should be honoured. On the basis of what competence was the Katholikos in a position to authorise such a procedure, and should one not think, that it was the business of the city or the city council alone, to undertake the honouring of a deserving fellow notable? What role were the officials of the provincial administration to play in this context? Especially as on the other hand towards the end of the text the σύνδικος Aristion says explicitly, that the βουλή should concern itself with the matter: on this point A. Bowman remarks: "It is thus clear that it was within the competence of the Boule to discuss the presentation of a ψήφισμα, but unclear whether this competence included the power of ultimate decision."

15

If however the ultimate decision upon such a conferment of honour – in the papyri ψήφισμα normally means a resolution carried by the majority of a voting body rather than a solitary decision of a single official

16

– does not fall within the competence of the city council alone, but needed the approval of a high official of the province, why was it that of the Katholikos and not, for example, of the governor (who was also present) or of any other official of the provincial administration? This could perhaps suggest that in this case a special competence of the Katholikos is involved, because, if it were only a case of a symbolic ratification, such that one sought the approval of the provincial administration whenever one or more of their number happened to be present, one might ask why the prefect was not the first to be entreated. The reason for this is not, however, that he may have had a higher rank than the Katholikos, although he is always named before him in the acclamations of the crowd. It is the case that in the course of the administrative reforms of Diocletian after the division of the earlier province Aegyptus into two at first and later six

provinces the competences of the *praefectus Aegypti* were diminished and extended territorially for a time only to Alexandria and the Delta. In contrast the *rationalis* was responsible for the whole of Egypt as before. If we find ourselves in the epoch of the tetrachy in the case of *P.Oxy. I, 41*, and there are some arguments for this, then the fact that of the high officials who were present it was the Katholikos who was the most important addressee of the demands of the crowd, could be an expression of a widespread sense amongst the population, that this official possessed more prerogatives than the prefect.

17

On the other hand the Katholikos was from the time of Diocletian basically responsible for the entire administration of the finances of the province. Is the background to the conferment of the honour for the Prytanis to be sought in his services in the context of the nomination of liturgists or the collection of taxes and tributes, an area in which he was active on the direct orders of the Katholikos? After all he is celebrated as φιλομέτριος and as ἄρχων τοῖς μετρίοις. Both of these epitheta allude to his exertions on behalf of the less well off classes of the citizenship in the context of the mitigation of the fiscal burdens, for the imposition of which the Katholikos was to a large extent responsible. Thus for example according to *P.Mert. II, 90* (AD 310) the Katholikos ordered the nomination of liturgists through the city council, and on the authority of such an order the Boule through office of the Prytanis informed the Strategos of such a nomination.

17

18

With their acclamations the crowd possibly intended, that the actions of the Prytanis concerning the easing the fiscal burden imposed upon the city should be well regarded not only for the past but also in the future by the Katholikos, whose sphere of competence was thus very much affected.

19

The circumstance, that the Katholikos was above all confronted with the demand to present the city once again with Dioskoros in all the diverse functions, in which he had already demonstrated his suitability, suggests to me, that it was the intention of the acclamations to ensure the future beneficial activity of the Prytanis

for the city. It is expressly stated: δέησ[ιν] τῷ κα[θολι]κῷ περὶ τοῦ πρυτανέως, τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῖς μέτριοις, ... τὸν ἄρχοντα τῇ πόλι, τὸν κηδεμόνα τῇ πόλι, τὸν φιλομέτριον [τῇ π]όλ[ι], τὸ[ν] κτίστην τῇ πόλι (lines 11-13 and similarly in the previous lines 9-11). These acclamations seem to me to imply that the Demos demanded more here, than simply that the Prytanis should be honoured for services to the city in the past. It desires a continuation in the future of the so beneficial activities of Dioskoros.

18

20

The demands are perhaps to be understood in a very concrete manner and take account of the fact that it was in the competence of the Katholikos, to nominate Dioskoros for any function, in which he could be active in a positive manner for the city and that it is for this reason that the crowd assail the Katholikos above all with their demands. This is certainly not imperative. If the services of Dioskoros in the past consisted to a large degree of a mitigation of the fiscal burdens imposed upon the city and one hoped for this in the future, then it might be for precisely this aspect of his activities that one might have felt the need for the approval of the Katholikos, who was present, because it was he who had to attend to the fact that the interests of the fiscus were looked after.

21

In view of such speculations account must be taken of the fact that the acclamations do not at any stage mention the reason for the honouring.

22

Each of the first three of these acclamations is introduced with the puzzling exclamation Ὠμαιαναί (= Ὠμεανέ).

19

There follow the official title (Ὠμεανὲ πρύτανι), the acclamation as „the city’s boast” (Ὠμεανὲ δόξα πόλεως) and as “chief of citizens” (Ὠμεανὲ Διόσκορε πρωτοπολῖτα). There have been attempts to explain these Ὠμεανέ acclamations in terms of an *interpretatio Aegyptiaca*, according to which the Egyptians identify Okeanos with the Nile.

20

As we glean from a passage of Diodoros, “the Egyptians believe that for them the ocean is the Nile”, which they also call such in their own

language, as the same author tells us in another passage.

21

Consequently the Prytanis would be “bienfaisant comme le Nil”, according to G. Méautis

22

or “ein Mann, der wie der Ozean Gutes im Überfluß für die Stadt bringt”

23

, as R. Merkelbach expressed.

23

Erik Peterson, whose pioneering research work on ancient acclamations appeared in his book Εἰς θεός

24

published in 1926, took issue with the explanation of the Ὠκεανέ acclamation

25

already put forward by G. Meautis in a small contribution from the year 1929.

26

24

Peterson pointed to the little noticed volume Περί κenoδοξίας καὶ ὅπως δεῖ τοὺς γονέας ἀνατρέφειν τὰ τέκνα of Johannes Chrysostomos, where in chap. 4 the scene of an acclamation is described, in which a certain Philotimos is compared by the crowd, which is celebrating him, to the Nile and then to the ocean

27

:

Διαναστάντες εὐθέως ὥσπερ ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος μίαν ἀφῆσιν φωνήν, συμφώνως ἅπαντες κηδεμόνα καλοῦντες καὶ προστάτην τῆς κοινῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνοντες. εἶτα μεταξὺ τῶν πάντων μείζονι παραβάλλουσιν αὐτὸν ποταμῷ τῷ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ἄδρῶν καὶ ἐκνεχυμένον, τῇ τῶν Νειλῶν ὕδατων ἀφθονία συγκρίνοντες. Καὶ Νεῖλον αὐτὸν εἶναί φασι τῶν δωρεῶν. Οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν κολακεύοντες μικρὸν νομίσαντες εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδειγμα, τὸ τοῦ Νείλου, ποταμοὺς μὲν ἀφῆσιν καὶ θαλάσσας, τὸν Ὠκεανὸν εἰς μέσον ἀγαγόντες τοῦτο αὐτὸν εἶναί φασι, ὅπερ ἐκείνῳ ἐν ὕδασι, τοῦτον ἐν ταῖς φιλοτιμίαις καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως εἶδος εὐφημίας ἀπολιμπάνουσιν.

25

Peterson views this as “the literary instance of the use of the Ὠκεανέ acclamation, which is otherwise only known to us through the papyri”.

He prefers to regard the passages from Diodoros, upon which bases his arguments as “Hellenistic theology”, which “only signifies: primeval water is the theological principle of the Egyptians and the Greeks”.

26

In my opinion the passage in Joh. Chrysostomos provides an instance simply of a comparison of the honoured person with the Nile and the ocean. It does not, however, say anything about what rhetorical means are used to make the comparison. It seems to me that all we can take from the passage in Joh. Chrysostomos (and it is, indeed, only to be understood as a fictive example of *κενοδοξία*) is that Philotimos had in some manner been entitled “so large as the ocean”. This is what the phrase *τὸν Ὠκεανὸν εἰς μέσον ἀγαγόντες τοῦτο αὐτὸν εἶναί φασι, ὅπερ ἐνεῖνον ἐν ὕδασι, τοῦτον ἐν ταῖς φιλοτιμίαις* means. There is, however, in my opinion no necessity to conclude that the author here had the sort of acclamations in mind, which are attested in the papyri in the rhythmical *Ὠκεανέ* exclamations.

Furthermore one may well regard this as unlikely, because the latter, as the papyrological attestations, which are to be discussed, clearly show, as far as I can see, in fact do not characterise the acclaimed person as Okeanos and as a result are not intended to say “you are like Okeanos”, but rather are used in the same way as present day cries of “Bravo!” or “long live!”

27

A closer look at the *Ὠκεανέ* exclamations in *P.Oxy. I, 41* already gives rise to doubts, that it really is the intention here to characterise the Prytanis as Okeanos, because this exclamation precedes the actual acclamation *δόξα πόλεως und πρωτοπολίτης*. On its first appearance it precedes the official title: *Ὠκεανέ πρύτανι*. The translation of this acclamation by Marianne Blume translates this acclamation as “pour le prytane, ocean”

, where she takes *πρύτανι* as a dative

, which is, however, in my opinion incorrect.

It must rather be a case of the use of the vocative in analogy with the other acclamations composed with Ὠμεανέ. This seems to me to make it most likely that on each occasion the exclamation is functionally joined to the following acclamations δόξα πόλεως, πρωτοπολίτης etc. or rather that it is intended to intensify these acclamations and not that the person referred to is to be characterised “as” Okeanos or “as large as the ocean”.

The exclamation Ὠμεανέ also appears in a number of other texts from Roman Egypt.

33

One of these is a very good parallel for *P.Oxy.* I, 41, because it (likewise unfortunately very fragmentary) also belongs to the protocol of a gathering of an unknown nature, in which a chain of acclamations were made. The exclamation Ὠμεανέ with which a man by the name of Dionysios and a certain Dioskoros are greeted: [Ὠμεανέ] Διονύσιε, Ὠμεανέ Διόσκορε

34

, is striking. The other instances of the exclamations are to be found in some protocols of meetings of the city councils of Oxyrhynchos and Hermopolis. In the fragment of a protocol of a meeting of the Boule of Oxyrhynchos from the reign of the emperor Aurelian (AD 270-275) after an utterance of the exegetes the following reaction of the plenum is recorded: of οἱ Βουλευταὶ εἶπ(ον)· Ὠμεανὲ ἐξηγητά.

35

The Bouleutai react to a report from the gymnasiarch concerning the supply of oil in the same manner: Ὠμεανὲ Πτολεμαῖε, Ὠμεανὲ γυμνασιαρχέ.

36

A further text from the late 3rd century from Oxyrhynchos contains the protocol of a gathering, which is described as a σύλλογος, which was possibly not a council gathering, but a gathering of one or more tribes.

37

This gathering apparently negotiated with the σύνδικος (*defensor civitatis*) concerning questions of the appointment of municipal officers. The protocol of the meeting records as reaction to a contribution from the Syndikos Menelaos: ὁ σύλλογος ἐφώνησεν·

εὐγενῇ σύνδικε, καλῶς [ἐδιδόκησα]ς Ὠκεα[ναὶ φίλο] | πόλει,
Ὠκεαναὶ ἰδιοπ[ο]ιέ, [ἄ]ξιε τοῦ ἡγεμόνος μιᾷ ἀπ' αἰῶνο[ς]
συνδικία, τοιούτους δ εἰ γίγν[εσ]θα[ι].

38

A very poorly preserved fragment of a protocol of a council gathering in Oxyrhynchos from the year AD 286, which contains the beginnings of 20 lines, records at one stage an approving acclamation of the plenum: οἱ Βουλευταὶ ἐφώνησαν· Ὠκεαν[έ].

39

Finally we have a fragment of a council protocol from the 3rd century from the nome capital Hermopolis. An approving acclamation of Ὠκεανέ from the plenum is also to be found here as a reaction to an utterance of the Prytanis.

40

30

Confronted with this Ὠκεανέ acclamation Ulrich Wilcken remarked at a loss: “what such an address to the god Oceanus means here and in phrases such as Ὠκεανέ πρύτανι, Ὠκεανέ δόξα πόλεω[ς], Ὠκεανέ Διόσκορε πρωτοπολιῖτα etc, is something others will have to explain.”

41

31

In my opinion the use of the exclamation Ὠκεανέ in *P.Oxy. I, 41* is to be regarded as analogous to that in the protocols of meetings mentioned above, because they are a telling argument against the fact that the person, whose utterance is greeted with this exclamation, is compared to Okeanos. It seems to be much more like a stereotypically used acclamation, with which one expresses approval, so that it is probably best translated as simply “Bravo”, “Long live”, “Hurrah” etc., in our text thus as “Long live the Prytanis! Bravo, glory of the city! Hurrah, Dioskoros, first of citizens!”

32

It remains a puzzle, however, how the god Okeanos or the ocean stream or the ocean itself, which he represented, came to have this rhetorical function. It must be certain, that it is the ocean that is addressed with the exclamation Ὠκεανέ. Grenfell and Hunt, the editors of *P.Oxy. I, 41*, apparently had doubts about this, because they did not correct the spelling *ωκαιαναι* into Ὠκεανέ, and regarded this possibility as “very doubtful”.

The correct spelling, which is attested in the parallels, has removed the doubts, that we are in fact dealing with Okeanos and not for example with an Egyptian word in the guise of a Greek spelling

, especially as one cannot really imagine, how such a puzzling Egyptian word should have found a place in acclamations, which were otherwise purely Greek, and furthermore in a social milieu, such as the city elites of the nome capitals, which had always been proud of their “Hellenism”.

The sound of an Ὠκεανέ exclamation was perhaps accompanied by a perception of the boundless and unrestrained nature of the ocean stream, which only had a bank in this world, the boundary of the earth and the heavens. In the netherworld Okeanos did not have a bank. In the outwards direction it has no boundary and is the father of all rivers and thus the epitome of water as a life giving and life saving element as well as the source of all godly and human being.

It is possible that it was the perceptions concerning Okeanos and a boundless and inexhaustible richness, which led to the Ὠκεανέ exclamation lending expression to the highest possible note of approval for a person. One may also observe, that it was precisely in the Roman imperial period that depictions of Okeanos in private houses, above all in mosaics increased significantly in comparison to the Greek period.

That the Ὠκεανέ acclamation is so far only attested in Egypt, could be taken to indicate that there is a connection with the interpretation of the Nile in terms of Okeanos and the ever present Nile as the giver of life in everyday life and in the religious beliefs of the population, which one more or less called upon to lend weight to a decision or to display a very high degree of approval.

For the time being one will not be able to move beyond the realm of speculations, and it will scarcely be possible to explain the history of the idea and mentality underlying the Ὠκεανέ acclamation because of the paucity of the attestations we have so far and the fact that they offer relatively little of significance.

Apart from the the meaning of the puzzling Ὠκεανέ acclamation, understanding the other acclamations used to honour the Prytanis Dioskoros does not cause any undue problems. Except for the acclamation as Hesies (i.e. the drowned deified Osiris), “The Nile loves you as the blessed (Hesies) and rises” (line 5), which is the only one to give expression to specifically Egyptian beliefs

47

, the acclamations are all without fail of the type, which, as Marianne Blume was able to show, are widespread in the Hellenistic world as honorary epithets for city notables in inscriptions and fit into the context of the diverse rhetorical methods, with which civil euergetism was honoured and for which parallels may be found in the Greek East of the Empire.

48

Thus the acclamations used for the Prytanis Dioskoros in *P.Oxy. I, 41* accentuate above all his beneficial activities for the city. In them we see the use of both non specific phrases such as in the acclamation of Dioskoros as “the initiator of good things” (ἀρχηγὸς τῶν ἀγαθῶν) or as the one “under whose administration the good even increases” (ἐπὶ σοῦ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ πλεον γίνεταί) as well as more concrete epithets such as in the five fold use of the acclamation “founder” (κτίστης), which in honorary inscriptions usually points to the activity of the honorand as the builder or founder of public buildings for the purpose of improving the beauty of the city.

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Indeed the associations brought to mind by the term κτίστης with the founder (whether mythical or historical) of the specific community in question may well have been intended, because by this means the activity of the honorand towards the improvement of the city’s beauty was moved into the realm of a new foundation of the community. Until *P.Oxy. I, 41* became known the honorary epithet κτίστης for civil notables was not attested in Egypt, but for notables in the cities of imperial Asia Minor, which shows how much the civil elites in Egypt had in their use of the terminology of such honorary epithets caught up with the niveau which was to be found generally in the East. This was surely a result of the process of municipalisation of the Egyptian nome capitals in the course of the Roman imperial period, which had gathered pace especially after the granting by

Septimius Severus AD 199/200 of the privilege of civil self government through the permission to form city councils (βουλαί).

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The epithets φιλοπολίτης, δόξα πόλεως and κηδεμών are also attested elsewhere as honorary epithets for civil worthies.

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In contrast the acclamation of the Prytanis with the adjective φιλομέτριος or as ἄρχων τοῖς μετρίοις is only attested in *P.Oxy.* I, 41. M. Blume has shown convincingly, that the editors' translation of μέτριοι with "honest men" is not correct, but that here reference is made to the "humble" in the sense of "less well off" amongst the fellow citizens, whom the Prytanis Dioskoros had championed. The adjective φιλομέτριος, which as far as I can see is still without parallel, also belongs in this category. The "moderation" (*moderatio*) of Dioskoros, which is referred to here, is the "moderating", "compensatory" stance of the magistrate when he intervenes between the interests of the fiscus and those of the civil population at the time of the distribution of the fiscal burdens with regard to the liturgies.

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What makes the acclamations in *P.Oxy.* I, 41 special, is that they are not examples of brief spontaneous applause (as for example in the council protocols mentioned above) expressed in formulaic phrases as a reaction to individual utterances, but rather a dramatic production of the ritualised speech of the crowd, which develops in a crescendo like manner. It lasts quite some time before the frenetically celebrated Prytanis takes his own turn to speak. Until then it is only really the crowd that speaks. The various series of acclamations for the Prytanis are, however, interrupted by those for the high officials, who are present, and the emperor as well as by direct demands for the (if possible immediate) decision to confer honour.

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Marianne Blume imagined the whole situation as a sort of dramatic dialogue between different actors.

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She supposes an exchange between the words of the person, who (the

crowd's spokesman) puts forward the desire for a conferment of honour, and the acclamations of the crowd, which as a "claque organisee" celebrates the honorand with acclamations and honorary epithets, which ought perhaps literally to be part of conferment of honour itself. It remains unclear, however, who utters the accompanying acclamations for the Katholikos, to whom the demand for the honouring of the Prytanis is addressed, because these could have been uttered by the spokesman or by the crowd. It is in my opinion more likely that one should suppose that the whole text was uttered by the crowd, as otherwise one would have to assume that the change of the speaker would have been indicated in the text, which is what happens in the cases of the utterances of the Prytanis and the Syndikos Aristion.

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One wonders whether one should think of the entire spoken situation in terms of a spontaneous emotional outburst of the crowd or rather as a well produced dramatic performance of a "claque organisée" according to Blume's interpretation, for which the acclaiming crowd has been well prepared by the responsible "conductors" for their entries and from whom it is quasi conducted (in a musical sense) during the scene. Thus in the case of Nero's performances as a poet and singer an organised claque was responsible for the applause in the form of acclamations with a technique developed in Alexandria.

54

In *P.Oxy. I, 41* the acclamations could indeed, as Marianne Blume thinks, anticipate formulations, which were to be part of the decision (ψήφισμα) to honour the Prytanis, which was to be taken. As for example: "*The Prytanis for the city!* (τὸν πρύτανιν τῇ πόλει); *O beneficent Katholikos! The founder for the city!* (τὸν κτίστην τῇ πόλει) *Our lords, the emperors, may they live forever!*" and further "*We submit a petition (δέησις) to the Katholikos on behalf of the Prytanis. The magistrate for the less well off! The magistrate for ...!*"

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The magistrate of the city! The guardian for the city! He, who loves moderation, for the city! The founder for the city!" The passages set in italics, based on the Blume's suggestion, could indeed be understood in the following manner: the content of the petition of the crowd to the Katholikos is such that the decision, which is to be made on the

authority of the Katholikos, should quasi give the crowd in the person of the Prytanis “The magistrate for the μέτριοι, the founder for the city etc.” as a present. In contrast to Blume I do not regard it as certain that the acclamations predetermine the text of the conferment of honour (which has still to be made).

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In *P.Oxy.* I, 41 the acclaiming crowd appears without doubt as an active player, which takes the initiative, and does not simply react passively and exclusively with acclamations as in the council protocols. It takes the stage as the one who urgently demands the honouring of the Prytanis and raises, as Ulrich Wilcken states in his own so typically prosaic manner, “ein Geschrei, als wenn sie das Imperium zu vergeben hätten.”

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The notables of the city seem on the other hand to be somewhat taken by surprise, they have the part in the scene of those who react unlike the acclaiming crowd which takes the initiative in acting and take some trouble, as the intervention of the Prytanis, the honorand, as well as that of the Syndikos Aristion makes clear, to steer the whole affair into well ordered and legal channels, i.e. to preserve the prerogatives of the βουλή. In contrast the crowd made use of the opportunity afforded by the presence of the high officials of the province on the occasion of the great festival (the panegyris mentioned in line 1), not only to give emphasis to the acclamations, which were all the more impressive owing to the witnesses from high official positions, with all sorts of honorary epithets, but above all by means of the petition (which one ought to characterise rather more as a demand), which was made directly to the Katholikos, with the plea for a decision and that is an immediate decision to confer honours on the Prytanis. This plea is uttered three time in all and reaches a high note the third time round to become an impressive staccato like crescendo: “We are making a petition for the Prytanis, Katholikos!” (δεόμεθα, καθολικέ, περὶ τοῦ πρυτάνεως) “The conferment of honour for the Prytanis should be decided upon!” (ψηφισθήτω ὁ πρύτανις). “It should be passed on this very day!” (ψηφισθήτω ἐν τολαύτῃ ἡμέρᾳ). “It is necessary and essential!” (τοῦτο πρῶτον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον). One could almost believe one were

hearing *modulata carmina* similar to those with which according to Suetonius Augustus was received as he returned to Rome

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, and which as a technique of acclamation developed primarily in Alexandria to an apparently very high degree, the emperor Nero organised and established permanently for the acclamations which were made for him on the occasions of his performances as poet and singer.

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One has the impression that the crowd, which was gathered for the festival, seized the opportune moment to increase the chances of success for its desire that its beloved Prytanis should be honoured through the acclamations made for him in front of the very eyes and ears of the high officials of the province, who were present, and through the demand, which was made directly of them, to legitimate this desire through their assent. Thus in the case of success the demand would be provided with such great authority, that the βουλή, as the instance, which was really responsible for the decision about the conferment of honour on the Prytanis, could in fact scarcely fail to decide upon such a conferment of honour.

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One might wonder whether this action of the crowd on the occasion of the Panegyris, which took place in Oxyrhynchos could not be explained by opposition in the circle of the city notables towards the honouring of the Prytanis demanded by the δῆμος. It seems that he is so loved by the people, because he has been successful in taking pains to lessen the fiscal burden upon the less well off citizens. The Prytanis ought to be honoured amongst other reasons because in the eyes of the crowd he is φιλομέτριος and ἄρχων τοῖς μετρίοις. As a result of his sympathies for the μέτριοι the Prytanis Dioskoros could have placed a higher burden upon his fellow notables, as the Bouleutai were responsible together for ensuring the interests of the fiscus. To honour him on to of all this could have been felt to be simply too much by some of them.

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This is surely nothing other than speculation, which cannot be proved by anything. If one thought it plausible, it would however offer the advantage, that the above mentioned considerations

concerning, which aspects of his official duties could have moved the Katholikos, who was so beset by the crowd with demands, to occupy his time with the honouring of a local city notable, would be more or less superfluous. The question for example concerning the administrative competences of the Katholikos on the authorisation of civil conferments of honour

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would in the eyes of the crowd not be a relevant point at all. In fact it had simply made use of his presence, to make its demands to a higher authority than to the notables of their own city and thus to predetermine their decision. That the crowd was successful, is suggested it seems to me by the fact, that the acclamations were so carefully protocolled, although they had not been made use of in a regular gathering, which was authorised to pass a resolution. These acclamations were the most important argument, upon which the Boule had to base her decision to honour the Prytanis, which had to be made.

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That the protocol did not report any utterance of approval from the Katholikos, ought not to be a strong argument against this supposition. A gracious nod or smile, which indicated the pleasure of the high official in the love and honour felt by the ordinary people for a local notable, ought to have sufficed. The Katholikos need not really have to have been well informed about the details of the case. If this scene visualised and affirmed his notions of order in a manifest way, the Katholikos may have been content to establish the fact, that in a city, in which the people loves its representative to such an extent, everything is very much as well as it can be.

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The question concerning the nature of the gathering, which, as detailed above, some scholars have explained as a public meeting or the question concerning any regular possibilities of participation of the city δῆμος in the self government of a city in the high imperial period, would not be of any particular relevance in the light of the considerations mentioned above. Apart from the fact that, as one knows better nowadays, regular public meetings of the Demos in the sense of an institution which participated in the self government of the city and was authorised to pass resolutions, which encompassed

the whole community, on the whole no longer had a role to play in the cities of the high and late imperial period, *P.Oxy.* I, 41 also demonstrates, what effective and informal possibilities to exert influence the people had, in as much as they used a festive gathering to make very concrete demands by means of the ritualised communication of acclamation.

46

If one considers the acclamations in *P.Oxy.* I, 41, three types can be made out quite clearly. First of all there are the acclamations, with which the emperors, the Romans and the high provincial officials are greeted and which usually celebrate in a stereotype manner the emperors in their victories or in the eternal nature of their rule or bestow upon the high officials the title benefactor (εὐεργέτης). In the case of these acclamations we are dealing with the utterances of praise, which were standard on all sorts of occasions, and with which it was customary to open the regularly occurring council meetings and which on such occasions one, as we have seen above, no longer found it necessary to include in the protocol. Acclamations of a further type are those, which were uttered to honour the Prytanis Dioskoros and praise his civic virtues and his meritorious deeds on behalf of the city. The formulation of these is at times quite original, however these acclamations may be seen *cum grano salis* within the framework of what one knows from the tradition of the inscriptions from various cities of the East of the imperial period.

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The third type of acclamations in *P.Oxy.* I, 41 is in my opinion the most interesting, that is the concrete demands, which in most cases are made directly to the Katholikos for the immediate honouring of the Prytanis Dioskoros. These demands, which are repeated and build up in a staccato like fashion, are not to be conceived of as simple utterances of praise or *fausta vota*, but as a form of ritualised communication, with which one may give expression to a concrete desire, that is one in favour of a decision to honour Dioskoros. This function of acclamations may be studied most illustratively on the basis of the acclamations, with which the Roman senate celebrated the completion of the *Codex Theodosianus* on 25 December 438. The protocol of this senate meeting

, which has been treated in much detail recently by U. Wiemer

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, apart from the usual utterances of praise also reports acclamations, which contain quite concrete desires on the part of the senate for the dissemination, safe-keeping and composition of the codification of the law.

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Wiemer has moreover been able to make clear, that this formal structure of the acclamations is not only limited to the Roman senate, but is to be found in a distinctly less privileged environment in terms of closeness to the emperor than the Roman senate,

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as can be seen by considering the acclamations, with which a crowd of people demanded the dismissal of the bishop Iba, who in their eyes was a heretic, in April 449 in Edessa, the capital of the province Osrhoene. Here the crowd makes use of the arrival of the newly appointed governor to make their demands on two consecutive days. As in *P.Oxy. I, 41* each of the concretely formulated demands and complaints, which pertain to factual issues, are prefaced by the formulaic utterances of praise for the emperor and the high officials.

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The phenomenology of the late Roman acclamations, which confronts us in the examples of the 5th century, which were studied by Wiemer and represent them at the height of their development, basically consists of a dual typology of the diverse elements of this communication ritual into stereotype, formulaic utterances of praise on the one hand and acclamations formulated individually with respect to each issue on the other, with which the acclaiming crowd gave expression to their concrete wishes and complaints. *P.Oxy. I, 41* attests for us an example, in which at a very early point in time the functionality of these two central elements are very much apparent.

1 H.-U. Wiemer, "Akklamationen im spätrömischen Reich. Zur Typologie und Funktion eines Kommunikationsrituals", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 86 (2004), p. 55-73 Fundamental to the problem of acclamations are: G.S. Aldrette, *Gestures and Acclamations in Ancient Rome*, Baltimore, 1999; A. Alföldi, "Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhof", *MDAI(R)* 49 (1934), p. 3-118, esp. 79 sq.; B. Baldwin, "Acclamations in the *Historia Augusta*", *Athenaeum* n.s. 69 (1981), p. 138-149; j. Burian, "Die kaiserliche Akklamation in der Spätantike (Ein Beitrag zur Untersuchung der *Historia Augusta*)", *Eirene* 17 (1980), p. 17-43; J. Coun, *Les villes libres de l'Orient gréco-romain et l'envoi au supplice par acclamations populaires*, Bruxelles, 1965 (*Collection Latomus*, 82); Th. Klauser, *RAC* 1 (1950), p. 216-233, s.v. "Akklamation"; E. Peterson, *Εἰς Θεός. Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Göttingen 1926 (*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, NF 24); Ch. Roueché, "Acclamations in the Later Roman Empire: New Evidence from Aphrodisias", *JRS* 74 (1984), p. 181-199; J. Schmidt, *RE* I (1894), col. 147-150, s.v. "Acclamatio".

2 Wiemer, *l.c.* (n. 1), p. 56.

3 Wiemer, *l.c.* (n. 1), p. 59 sq.

4 *CTh* 1, 16, 6 (on this see also Wiemer, *l.c.* [n. 1], p. 58 sq.).

5 *P.Oxy.* X, 1305; XII, 1413, 3.21.24; XXIV, 2407, 11-12; 2417, 12 (*Oxrhynchos*, 3rd cent.); *SPP* V p. 4 (= *SPP* XX, 58, *Hermupolis*, 3rd cent.).

6 On this see also the following.

7 *P.Oxy.* XVII, 2110, 1-3: Ὑ[πα]τίας τῶν δεσπότην ἡμῶν Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Οὐαλέντος αἰώνων Αὐγούστων τὸ γ, Φαῶφι θ, | βουλῆς οὐσης, πρυτανίας Κλαυδίου Ἑρμεῖου Γελασίου γυμ(νασιαρχήσαντος), βουλευτοῦ, μετὰ τὰς εὐφημίας | καὶ παρελθόντος εἰς μέσον Θέωνος Ἀμμωνίου βουλευτοῦ διὰ Μακροβίου υἱοῦ καὶ καθεμένου οὕτως οἶδατε καὶ ὑμῖς, συνβουλευταὶ κ.τ.λ.

8 On this see Roueché, *l.c.* (n. 1), p. 190 sq.

9 *SEG* 34, 1306, on this see esp. P. Weiß, "Auxe Perge. Beobachtungen zu einem bemerkens-werten städtischen Dokument des späten 3. Jahrhunderts n.Chr.", *Chiron* 21 (1991), p. 353-392.

10 On this see M. Zimmermann, "Probus, Cams und die Räuber im Gebiet des pidischen Termessos", *ZPE* 110 (1996), p. 265-277.

11 In the latter sense U. Wilcken, *APF* 1 (1906), p. 124; *eid.*, *W.Chr.* 45 introd. A. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, Toronto, 1971 (*ASP*, 11), p. 34 n. 45, has on the basis of good arguments rejected an assembly of the people.

12 In the case of [[ις]] ἄρχο[ν]τα we are probably dealing with a mistake made by the scribe, who possibly repeated the use of the previous word. The rhythm of the text makes one expect a further phrase of the type τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῖς κ.τ.λ. Perhaps the scribe simply repeated the whole previous phrase τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῖς μετρίοις, see also M. Blume, "à propos de *P.Oxy.* I 41. Des acclamations en l'honneur d'un prytane confrontées aux témoignages épigraphiques du reste de l'Empire", in L. Criscuolo, G. Geraci (eds), *Egitto e storia antica dall'ellenismo all'età araba. Bilancio di*

un confronto. *Atti del Colloquio Internazionale Bologna*, 31 agosto – 2 settembre 1981, Bologna, 1989, p. 271-290, *ibid.*, p. 273 sq. n. 18.

13 See also Blume, *l.c.* (n. 12), p. 289. On the practice of protocolling acclamations in late antiquity see Burian, *l.c.* (n. 1), esp. p. 23 sq.; Roueché, *l.c.* (n. 1), 181-199, esp. p. 184 sq.; D. Potter, “Performance, Power, and Justice in the High Empire”, in W.J. Slater (ed.), *Roman Theater and Society*, Ann Arbor, 1996 (*E. Togo Salmon Papers*, 1), p. 129-159; *ibid.*, p. 144 sq.

14 On this ὁ δῆμος ἐβόησεν cf. IG XII 9, 906 (= Syll³ 898), a decree from Chalkis from AD 212 concerning the conferment of a νεωχορία, where in line 28 one reads: ἐβ(όησεν) ὁ δ(ῆμος). The characterisation of the crowd as “the people” in the present text is not an indication that we are really dealing with a regular gathering of the people (*ekklesid*), as older research supposed. (on this see also above), because in late antiquity this characterisation could simply refer to the acclaiming gathering as a collective entity, see Wiemer, *l.c.* (n. 1), 54.

15 Bowman, *o.c.* (n. 11), p. 84.

16 See e.g. *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII, 2854, 7-9 (AD 248): παρὰ τὰ γενόμενά μοι ὑπὸ τῆς κρατίστης βουλῆς ψηφίσματα.

17 See also *P.Oxy.* IX, 1204 (AD 299): proceedings in front of the Katholikos on account of a disputed nomination to the office of Dekaprotos; *P.Oxy.* XII, 1410 (AD 286); the Katholikos enacts a ban on the renewed nomination to the office of Dekaprotos; *P.Oxy.* XII, 1509 (4th cent.): nomination of a Hyperetes on the order of the Katholikos; *P.Oxy.* XLIII, 3127 (AD 332): handing over of debtors to the state to the Katholikos; *PSI Congr.* XI, 13 (3rd-4th cent.): nomination of a liturgist instead of a wrongly nominated one on the order of the catholicus; see in general on the competences of the Katholikos also *P.Panop. Beatty* 1-2 (AD 300).

18 Blume, *l.c.* (n. 12), p. 289 apparently also has in mind a connection between the acclamations and a candidature for office of Dioskoros, when she writes: “ici, il semble que les acclamations doivent appuyer la candidature de Dioscore et donc être faites au moment propice.” On the basis of this formulation (“la candidature”), one has the impression, that Blume is thinking of the candidature for the office of Prytanis. At the very point of time, however, at which the Demos offers him its acclamations, Dioskoros is indeed Prytanis.

19 That the spelling Ὠκαιαναί in *P.Oxy.* I 41 should be understood as Ὠκεανέ and consequently stands for *Oceanus* (concerning which the editors had their doubts, see *P.Oxy.* I 41, 4 note), can be seen as a result of the spelling, which in contrast to *P.Oxy.* I, 41 is correct, in a council protocol from Hermopolis (*SPP* XX, 58), see U. Wilcken, *APF* 3 (1908), p. 541 and in what follows.

20 1, 12, 6: Οἱ γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι νομίζουσιν Ὠκεανὸν εἶναι τὸν παρὰ αὐτοῖς ποταμὸν Νεῖλον.

21 See 1, 96: τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν διάλειτουργον Ὠκεανὸν λέγειν τὸν Νεῖλον and 1, 19, 4: τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν (sc. Νεῖλον), ἀρχαιότατον μὲν ὄνομα σχεῖν Ὠκεάνην, ὅς ἐστιν Ἑλληνιστὶ Ὠκεανός.

- 22 See G. Méautis, “Ὠκεανέ”, *RPh* 40 (1916), p. 52-54, *ibid.*, p. 54.
- 23 “Eine Acclamation als Hesies-Osiris”, *ZPE* 12 (1988), p. 65-66; *ibid.*, p. 65.
- 24 See above n. 1.
- 25 See the contribution cited in n. 22.
- 26 E. Peterson, “Zur Bedeutung der Ὠκεανέ -Akklation”, *RhM* 78 (1929), p. 221-223.
- 27 Ed. B.K. Exarchos, ΠΕΡΙ ΚΕΝΟΔΟΞΙΑΣ· ΚΑΙ ΟΠΩΣ ΔΕΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΓΟΝΕΑΣ ΑΝΑΤΡΕΦΕΙΝ ΤΑ ΤΕΚΝΑ. *Über Hoffart und Kindererziehung. Mit Einleitung und kritischem Apparat*, Munich, 1952 (*Das Wort der Antike*, 4).
- 28 Peterson, *l.c.* (n. 26), p. 222.
- 29 Peterson, *l.c.* (n. 26), p. 223.
- 30 This opinion is espoused by for example Klauser, *l.c.* (n. 1), p. 223.
- 31 Blume, *l.c.* (n. 12), p. 273.
- 32 πρυτάνι instead of πρυτάνει with an Iota instead of the diphthong, which is quite usual in the Koine.
- 33 In the solitary literary instance in a scholion on Aeschylus’ Prometheus Ὠκεανέ is used with reference to the god Okeanos himself, see *Scholia in Aischylum* 330, 1 u. 330, 7.
- 34 P.Oxy. X, 1305. Whether this Dioskoros may be identical with the man of the same name in P.Oxy. I, 41, is otiose in view of the commonness of the name.
- 35 P.Oxy. XII, 1413, 2.
- 36 P.Oxy. XII, 1413, 21.
- 37 On this in detail see Bowmann, *o.c.* (n. 11), p. 50 *sq.*, cf. N. Lewis, *APF* 21 (1971), p. 83-85. The editor raised doubts about whether the gathering had any connection with Oxyrhynchos, which is where the text certainly comes from (see also Lewis, *l.c.*), Bowman objects quite rightly, that there are no indications, which in any way count against assigning the text to Oxyrhynchos, which is certainly where it was found.
- 38 P.Oxy. XXIV, 2407, 11-12.
- 39 P.Oxy. XXIV, 2417, 11-12; cf. *ibid.* 1. 7.
- 40 SPP XX, 58 Col. I 8.
- 41 *APF* 3 (1908), p. 541.
- 42 P.Oxy. I, 41, 4 note: “The meaning of this title or form of address, which only occurs here before proper names, is very doubtful. It seems impossible in this context to read ὦ Κατανέ and suppose a reference to the obscure sect of Cainites. It is not more satisfactory to read the letters as one word, Ὠκεανέ.”
- 43 See also U. Wilcken, *APF* 3 (1906), p. 541.
- 44 On this see P. Weizsäcker, *ML* III 1 (1897-1902), col. 809-820, s.v. “Okeanos”; H. Herter, *RE* XVII 2 (1937), col. 2355, s.v. “Okeanos” (mythisch); R. Tölle-Kastenbein, “Okeanos als Inbegriff”, in O. Brehm, S. Klie (eds), ΜΟΥΣΙΜΟΣ ἀνήρ. *Festschrift für Max Wegner zum 90. Geburtstag*, Bonn, 1992 (*Antiquitas Reihe* 3, *Abhandlungen zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte zur klassischen und provinzial-römischen Archäologie und zur*

45 For an overview of the depictions see *LIMC* VIII 1 (1997), p. 907-915, s.v. "Oceanus".

46 The remarks on the Ὠκεανέ acclamation in D. Bonneau, *La crue du Nil divinité égyptienne à travers mille ans d'histoire (332 av.-641 ap. J.-C), d'après les auteurs grecs et latins, et les documents des époques ptolémaïque, romaine et byzantine*, Paris, 1964, p. 238 sq. point in this direction as well.

47 On this see Merkelbach, l.c. (n. 23).

48 As has already been demonstrated by Blume, l.c. (n. 12), p. 278 sq. Thus only few Suppléments need to be mentioned.

49 See Blume, l.c. (n. 12), p. 278 sq. and cf. the inscriptional acclamations for a benefactor of the city of Aphrodisias in Caria named Albinus (on this see Roueché, l.c. [n. 1], esp. p. 190 sq.), which are apparently mounted on the columns of a building which was founded by him. In many of them express reference is made to his activity as founder of the buildings, see for example Roueché, p. 192, n° 8, where we read: Τὰ σὰ [ἡ] [ἱ]σμάτα | αἰωνία ὑπόμνη | σις | Ἀλβῖνε φιλοκτίστα.

50 On this see esp. Bowman, o.c. (n. 11); A.K. Bowman, D. Rathbone, "Cities and Administration on Roman Egypt", *JRS* 82 (1992), p. 107-127; A. Jördens, "Das Verhältnis der römischen Amtsträger in Ägypten zu den Städten", in der Provinz", in W. Eck (ed.), *Lokale Autonomie und römische Ordnungsmacht in den kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen vom 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert*, Munich, 1999 (*Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien* 42), p. 142-180; and in recapitulatory form Th. Kruse, *Der Königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung. Untersuchungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte Ägyptens in der Zeit von Augustus bis Philippus Arabs (30 v. Chr.-245 n. Chr.)*, Band II, Munich/Leipzig, 2002 (*APF-Beih.*, 11), p. 888 sq. as well as p. 940 sq.

51 See Blume, l.c. (n. 12), p. 283 sq.

52 Blume, l.c. (n. 12), p. 279 sq.

53 Blume, l.c. (n. 12), p. 271-290, esp. p. 273 n. 17.

54 Suet., *Nero* 20, 3; see also Potter, o.c. (n. 13), p. 129-159, esp. p. 133 sq., where a series of examples for organised acclamations are listed.

55 The text is corrupt at this point, see also n. 12.

56 *APF* 1 (1901), p. 124.

57 Aug. 57, 2: *Revertentem* (sc. Augustum), *ex provincia non solum faustis ominibus, sed et modulatis carminibus prosequebantur.*

58 Suet., *Nero*, 20, 3: *Captus* (sc. Nero), *autem modulatis Alexandrinorum laudationibus, qui de novo commeatu Neapolim confluerant, plures Alexandria evocavit.*

59 See also Bowman, o.c. (n. 11), p. 84.

60 This protocol is to be found at the beginning of the edition of the *Codex Theodosianus* by Theodor Mommsen.

61 See above n. 1.

62 Wiemer, l.c. (n. 1), p. 29 sq.

63 Wiemer, l.c. (n. 1), p. 35 sq.

Ritual Dynamics: The Contribution of Analogy, Simile and Free Association

Henk S. Versnel

1

This lecture is intended as a brief introduction to three types of ancient Greek ritual that have had my interest over the last twenty years.

1

Only recently it began to dawn upon me that they share a common feature, of which I had never been aware before. I am referring to the remarkable contribution of the principles of free association or analogy to their construction, to their function and to their meaning. The three ritual phenomena that I propose to discuss from this perspective are, first, magical spells including the so-called curse tablets, secondly ancient festivals, more especially one specific festival, and thirdly divine miracles, more especially those accompanied by divine epiphanies.

1. Magical spells

2

A few years ago I possessed a green plastic watering can, which I used for spreading pesticides to eradicate the weeds, herbs and grasses teeming between the paving stones of the terrace and walks in my garden. My reason for using this *green* can was grounded on the (subconscious) association: poison is green, because the Dutch language has an expression “gifgroen” (green as poison). The next

year I used that same can but, the original association having vanished from my memory, I took it that it referred to green as the symbol of unspoilt nature and hence I used what remained of its content for the opposite goal namely to fertilize the grass of my lawn. This resulted in the definitive end of my beautiful lawn and in the near end of my up to that moment relatively happy marriage.

3

Both times my choice had been guided by the principle of association, and we have here a first suggestion of the multireferential potential of free association and its most productive manifestation: analogy. One can regret the broad variety of possible references of a substance or a quality (as I did), or one can welcome it since it provides abundant opportunities for creative association.

4

My green can also perfectly demonstrates that the process of free association can produce quite opposite effects. Examples abound in ancient magical spells, for instance in the application of colour analogy in the treatment of ailments or wounds. White anemones, so we read in an ancient medical spell, must be applied to *prevent* the white complexion that is caused by heavy drinking, just as yellow flowers are good to prevent or to heal jaundice. Likewise, the red colour of a plant can be recommended *against* red ulcers and red bruises. However, quite to the contrary, the use of a red cloth or garment is recommended in order to *produce* a healthy red complexion.

2

There appears to be a certain arbitrariness in the spectrum of associative mechanisms. In the process of association anything goes, it seems, as long as there is the tiniest shred of similarity, as we shall see more clearly from what follows.

5

Let us cast a glance at the ancient curse tablets, also called *defixiones*. These are small, thin sheets of lead, inscribed with texts intended to influence, by supernatural means, the actions or the welfare of persons against their wills. More than 1500 have been found in graves, especially graves of young persons deceased before their time, or in springs, sources, pits, throughout the Graeco-Roman area, where they were deposited as messages and instructions to the dead

and the gods of the Netherworld.

6

Among the many interesting questions evoked by these objects, I single out one for the present occasion: why specifically 'lead'? For a long time this has been a vexed question in the scholarly discussion. And many solutions have been proposed. What do the authors of the tablets say themselves? One tablet against an opponent in a lawsuit says "just as this lead is heavy, so may the tongue of my opponent be heavy"

3

– a quite convenient wish in the context of litigation. Likewise, but with a different associative link, another tablet says: "just as this lead is heavy, so may my adversary suffer from the anger of the gods",

4

which apparently was experienced as a heavy burden or weight. Such texts have led scholars to believe that here we have the true reason for the use of lead in curses in general. However, another tablet has the following text: "just as this lead is cold, so may my opponent become cold".

5

And again other tablets refer to the ability of lead to sink in water or to melt in fire: "may my enemy go down just as this piece of lead sinks in water", "may he be burnt by fever just as this lead melts in fire". I could go on and on.

7

What does all this say? What do we learn from this? First, of course, that we should refrain from making general inferences on the basis of one single stray find. As a matter of fact, the actual reason for using lead, as most scholars agree to date, is almost certainly the very prosaic and un-magical fact that lead was the material for writing letters and notes of any kind, also in private communication, since the material was very cheap, not perishable, and widely available. The lesson most relevant to our issue, however, is the insight that we get into the nearly unlimited and endlessly productive potential of free association and analogy. The material was there, ready for 'magical' activation. And this activation, as becomes apparent from the texts quoted, required active, indeed creative involvement of the author of the text, who sometimes, but not always, is also the user.

8

The analogies discussed so far were constructed on the qualities of the material concerned: lead is heavy, cold, dark, will sink, will melt. However, the *lack* of certain qualities is equally prone to associative engineering. One of the very few lead tablets that refer to a different material, namely with the term *c(h)arta* (paper), has the text: “let my adversary’s actions be fruitless, just as this paper will never come to flourish (come to bloom)”: *aga(t) como (= quomodo) haec carta nuncquam florescet*. Apparently, if one cannot immediately think of a positive analogon, one may create a negative one. It is an immensely popular device, so popular indeed that we have a word for it: the *adunaton*, a type of analogy that derives its effect from the projection of an “impossibility” of the material onto the abilities of the target. Also in medical spells: “just as a mule does not propagate, just as a drinking-vessel does not drink, just as a pigeon has no teeth, so may my teeth not hurt”. Lots of inventiveness has been invested in this very original little series of similes.

9

I shall give just one example from our curse tablets in which the negative and the positive application of one and the same analogy are on display in a peaceful co-existence. The curse

6

first “binds” the works and tongue of a certain person named Kerkis and places them in the care of the young, prematurely dead persons in the grave, adding: “and whenever the dead read these words then shall it be for Kerkis to speak.” Of course this will never happen, for the inability of the dead to read is here presented as an exemplary *adunaton*. However, the text ends with the words: “Hermes Chthonios, control these things and read these (sc. words) as long as my enemies are alive”, where it is precisely the god’s continuous reading of the letter that is to effectuate the desired incapacity of the victims of the curse.

10

Not being able to read versus an urgent request to read, two radically contrasting expressions in the service of one and the same desire. Positive or negative, the similes are often elaborated into little stories about great mythical or legendary persons, whose abilities or inabilities are used as *analogia* for how the victim of a curse or, in a medical spell, the illness should behave. Moreover it appears that

people took considerable liberty in adapting or changing standing similes into sometimes essentially different ones, without apparently detracting from their supposed effectiveness.

11

“Such a battery of verbal devices”, as S.J. Tambiah once wrote. The texts we have seen have all one thing in common: they testify to a genuine poetical creativity. After all, analogy, similes and metaphors are the stuff poetry is made of. B. Malinowski already spoke of “the creative metaphor of magic,”

7

while J.L. Austin, and in his wake S.J. Tambiah,

8

have done much in the study of magic to pave the way towards the substitution of the traditional notion of “sympathetic magic” by that of “persuasive analogy.” Also, we are gradually discovering that, although formulaic models as exemplified in the Magical Papyri were available to those who could afford them, the sheer unlimited range of variations was the product of individual inventiveness. This poetical creativity in the use of association is a conscious and purposeful device to make magic work.

2. A festival

12

In our second section the working of association is of a different type. Also, we will now move on from verbal analogy to associations in ritual performance. The Thesmophoria, the most widespread Greek festival and the major cult form for Demeter (and her daughter Persephone/Kore), was held during three days in autumn just before the sowing season.

9

The festival was strictly reserved for married women who, in Athens, assembled in the Thesmophorion, the locality of the festival in the centre of Athens. On the second day, known as the ‘Fast’ (*nesteia*), the women abstained from food and sat on the ground. The third day was called *Kalligeneia*, ‘day of beautiful offspring’, a name that refers to the concern for bearing fine children. Earlier in the year women had thrown various objects related to fertility into the *megara*, among

them sacrificed piglets. The decayed remnants of these animals were recovered during the Thesmophoria and placed on altars. When scattered with seed in the field this was supposed to promote the fertility of crops.

13

The emphasis on women, on fair offspring, on piglets, which are closely connected with the cult of Demeter, the goddess of agriculture, all this leads to one conclusion: the core of this Demeter festival is the concern for the promotion of human and cereal fertility. This is the first and most obvious level of association. The analogy between women and agricultural land as potential bearers of fertility was proverbial in ancient Greece. Women are fields to be ploughed and sown by men in order to yield fruit. The analogy was so worn that it was taken for granted also by modern scholars. The fertility paradigm that reigned supreme from the late 19th century, under the sway of the famous Sir James Frazer, indeed became so dominant that it claimed every single bit of information concerning our festival for its own perspective. Those elements handed down by tradition that did not immediately fit into the associative frame of fertility were either ignored, or distorted or simply pressed into that paradigmatic interpretation. The paradigm tyrannized the evidence. Here are a few of these recalcitrant pieces of evidence.

14

First of all, during the three days of the festival the women used to camp in booths or huts arranged within the open space of the Thesmophorion. They slept on the ground, on beds (*stibades*) made of *lugos* (a kind of willow). This plant, generally regarded as unproductive and infertile, was supposed to work as a strong antaphrodisiac and hence to prevent all sorts of undesirable sexual impulses. However, the fertility addicts among the scholars could not tolerate an antaphrodisiac plant in a fertility festival and contended that this must be a later inversion of its original meaning. For originally, they argued against all testimonies, *lugos* must rather have stimulated female sexuality.

15

Secondly, on the second day prisoners were freed from their chains. This custom, too, was explained by the followers of Frazer as a magical means to promote fertility in women: knots and chains had

negative effects on everything connected with (re)production, especially confinement. However, this idea puts its advocates into serious trouble. First: liberation from bondage is also attested for two other festivals that are not at all connected with women or fertility. And secondly, what to do with the complicating datum that on that same (second) day of the Thesmophoria the law courts and council meetings were suspended as well, so that political life came to a standstill?

16

It is again the recognition of the polyreferentiality in processes of association and analogy that may help us out of the deadlock. Let us have a fresh look at the nature of the festival. During these three days the women laid off the burden of their normal routine and of their submissiveness to male dominance, more especially their obedience to male *phallogkratia*. For once, they enjoyed privileges that were unimaginable in normal life: the right to organize a women's society with complete autonomy and proper female '*archontes*', to ward off male intervention, to leave their houses and stay outside, even during the night, to perform private and secret rituals. Consequently, if the festival had originated as a ritual of fertility, in a subsequent phase and from a secondary perspective it also became a ritual of exception and of role-reversal. If we now consider the two recalcitrant data mentioned above in the light of reversal and exception, they soon reveal their secrets.

17

First, the primitive huts and sleeping on the ground, rather than being a relic of times immemorial as they are often explained, are ritual references to a status of 'primitivism' a quite common imagery in rituals of exception. The anti-cultural status and behaviour of the women during the festival, challenging and indeed defying the social and cultural norms, by *association* evokes other signs of the reverse of normality, expressed in the temporary return to an a-cultural or pre-cultural way of life, a situation of *anomia*, suspension of cultural norms and laws.

18

Once recognized, this insight immediately entails a most natural and, above all, coherent explanation of the liberation of prisoners and the suspension of court sessions and council meetings, rites that have

never been understood correctly. For, as a matter of fact, they are the very expressions of *anomia*, a period in which laws, codes and social rules are suspended, the *anomia*, as I said, typical of this type of festival of reversal.

19

And this is not the end of it. The exceptional liberty, not to say licence, of the married women during the festival not only attracted an analogous imagery of a-cultural primitivism, it also evoked feelings of threat and danger. To cope with them another most remarkable analogy was called in, which may explain some other elements of the festival. The beds of antaphrodisiac *lugos*, apart from their primitivist connotations, confront us with a glaring inconsistency. On the one hand the festival focused on the fertility of (fields and) women: *Kalligeneia*. On the other hand, however, this 'fertility'-festival is marked by a rigorous prohibition of any sexual action that is naturally preconditional for activating the procreative potential of women: men are excluded, both husbands and other sexually interested males. There is a host of objects around that may provoke or at least refer to erotic desire, but no opportunity to implement this in sexual action. While Demeter reigns in her temporary all-female society, Aphrodite is relegated to the sidelines. Metaphorically speaking, during the Thesmophoria the matrons were temporarily reduced to the status of virgins, before or on the brink of marriage, for which the Greeks have the word *numphe*. Though sexually mature they are not available for consummation.

20

It will be immediately evident now that sleeping on beds of antaphrodisiac *lugos* is the perfect manner to express (and effect) one side of this paradox. The *lugos* by association evokes and symbolizes the return to a virginal existence, as is also wonderfully corroborated by the myth of origin, the *aition*, that has come down to us. Here it is.

21

Persephone, daughter of Demeter, was abducted to the underworld by the god Hades, in the period in which, as a *numphe*, she was preparing herself for marriage, *inter alia* by weaving clothes for her wedding and marital life. After her disappearance, her mother Demeter entrusted the basket (*kalathos*) in which these clothes had been stored to the Nymphs, but the clothes themselves she took with

her when she went to the isle of Paros, where she was hosted by King Melisseus, 'king of the bees'. After her stay there she showed her gratitude by giving the bridal dress of Persephone to the sixty daughters of the king, while also revealing the secret rituals of the Thesmophoria to them. From that time on all the women celebrating the Thesmophoria bore the ritual name of 'bees' (*melissai*).

22

In Greek literature the *melissa* (bee) was the emblem of female domestic virtue. The bee distinguishes itself by a chaste way of life, and by an extreme abstinence in sexual matters. We may conclude that the ritual name of 'bees' exactly symbolizes the expectations concerning female behaviour during this festival of reversal. Although everything may be confused, and all sorts of extravagancies condoned, the sexual codes must be carefully maintained.

23

Now, the little myth about Demeter at Paros contains one curious detail: the legend of origin of the Thesmophoria does not refer to matrons, but to *numphai*, here (as usually) in the explicit sense of virgins on the eve of marriage. This is a strikingly accurate mythical translation of what we inferred from our analysis of the ritual data: during the Thesmophoria the matrons were temporarily reduced to the status of *nymphai*. They become chaste and sexually abstinent *melissai*, bees. The question remains, what is the meaning of this last and most fascinating association?

24

The answer to this question should be sought in the fundamental tension hidden in this ambivalent festival. In terms of the dominant ideology of Greece and Rome, the ceremonies are beneficial and necessary from a socio-biological point of view, but wrong and undesirable from a socio-cultural point of view. Matrons enjoy a licentious excursion from reality, but do so right in the centre of the city. Hence these festivals affect the prevailing codes in two respects. First, they focus the attention on the women's sexual import by references to erotic aspects through licentious behaviour, taboo language, sexual symbolism, etc. And secondly, they stage women taking over (part of) men's predominance while expelling the men from the centre of things and adopting their dominant roles. The first is intolerable in terms of the family codes, the second unthinkable in

terms of the codes of the community.

25

My surmise is that there is only one way of coping with the intolerable and of depriving the unthinkable of its extreme disruptive effects. If for some indisputable reason matrons must act as they do, they cannot remain matrons: for the time being they must give up this status and adopt another, that of the unmarried maiden. *Numphai*, both the mortal women just before marriage and the immortal demi-goddesses, the nymphs, who inhabit the wild country outside, though keeping to the rules of a chaste and sexually abstinent life, were allowed or at least associated with a type of behaviour that recalled the wild life of the extra-cultural spaces. When, thus, during the Thesmophoria the matrons can not remain matrons, the web of associations closes: in breaking the fetters of social codes women inevitably return to nature; in breaking the marital codes they inevitably return to the premarital status of the virgin.

26

Three layers of association, intertwining, yet different. Together, they differ from the first type of association that we discussed: however creative, the associations connected with the Thesmophoria were no purposeful creations by individuals. These associations and analogies were a spontaneous, unreflected, involuntary, but deeply compulsory offshoot of the common cultural stock of concepts, images, codes and traditions of ancient Greek society.

3. Miracles and apparitions

27

I opened my lecture with a Dutch green watering can and the different associations it evoked. Let me end it with the text that one can read on a so-called St Nikolaus Bildstock some five kilometres from our present location in Heidelberg, up the mountain near the Königsstuhl. There one can find a little shrine holding a statue of St Nikolaus. Opposite it is a notice board displaying a series of little stories distinguished by the dates they are referring to.

1747 Ein Blitz schlug in den Buchengrund
worin ein Förster unterstund

Wie durch ein Wunder blieb verschont
 der Förster, des Gebet belohnt.
 Ein Denkmal ward nach kurzer Zeit
 St. Nikolaus zum Dank geweiht.
 1800 Ein Frevler, der an Gott nicht glaubt,
 schlug ab St Nikolaus heilig Haupt.
 Nach Jahresfrist zur selben Stund,
 da ward uns diese Nachricht kund,
 dass jener Frevler seine Tat
 mit seinem Tod bezahlet hat
 Wie seltsam spielt das Leben doch
 der Frevler fiel durchs Scheunenloch
 Er brach sich dabei das Genick
 Oh. Denk an Skt Nikolaus zurück
 Zur selbe Stund zu selben Zeit
 ward ihm derzelbe Tod bereit.

10

28

In the winter of 279-278 BC a barbarian Celtic tribe attacked the famous oracular sanctuary of Apollo in Delphi, one of the most sacred places of the Greeks. When they approached the temple, there was a sudden outburst of thunder and lightning, earthquakes, hail and snowstorms. Rocks came tumbling down from the Parnassos. There were also reports of supernatural apparitions. One source mentions visions of local heroes, joining the Greek defenders in their travail, another that people had seen two White Maidens, two goddesses, and there is one testimony that mentions the appearance of Apollo himself, coming to the rescue of his sanctuary. The barbarians took to a chaotic flight. The message of the miraculous expulsion of the Gauls, including the visible assistance of the gods, was circulated among the Greek cities and a festival was instituted, the so-called Soteria (celebration of salvation) in which all Greek cities participated.

11

29

So far, apart from the institution of this festival, there is nothing 'ritual' in this event. But there is more to come. Some 60 years later, in 207 BC, envoys from the city of Magnesia in Asia Minor travelled around with the story that the goddess Artemis had appeared to inhabitants of that city some years before (221-220 BC) and had given an oracle ordering that their city should have the right of *asylia* (inviolability). They also proposed to found a festival (207 BC) in

which all Greek cities should participate. This time there is no context of military threat: the goddess simply appeared out of the blue, for no other reason than to do her city a favour. *Asyilia* was an eagerly pursued privilege and obviously it did no harm to have a god at your side to foster its implementation.

30

From this period onwards we perceive an ongoing flow of reports of divine apparitions in historical narrative and especially in contemporaneous inscriptions. The majority relate to situations of extreme military peril, quite a few reporting that sudden meteorological, geological or psychological events forced the enemy into a panicked flight. Under such circumstances it comes as no surprise that reports emerged of the appearance of a god or a heros, who in visible form had sent the storm or the fire from heaven, or who in another miraculous manner had induced panic among the enemy troops. These so-called military epiphanies become all the rage, a veritable fashion, from the late 3rd into the 1st century BC. They are a most striking example of both ritual in construction and the fundamental import of association in this process. For it is association that coloured expectancy.

31

Attributing a miraculous salvation to a god or heros or saint is a form of association so common in both Christian and non-Christian religions that we do not even realize that it is a case of association: The forester of the little German miracle story was miraculously safeguarded against a stroke of lightning, the blasphemous offender came miraculously to a deserved end, etcetera. All this *must* have been due to a personal intervention by the local Saint. This form of association helps to confer sense to incomprehensible events, both negative and positive, by anchoring them in a supernatural ordainment. It is a form of making sense. Nor is it uncommon that occasionally a saving deity is reported to have manifested him or herself in corporeal form. But that divine epiphany develops into a fixed and predictable programme, as it did in the Hellenistic period in Greek-speaking areas, that is both a testimony of the power of association and a sample of the ritualisation of expectancy.

Conclusion

Three samples of ritual dynamics, three different mechanisms of association, analogy, simile. In magical spells and curse tablets, analogy and simile are launched in a purposeful attempt to activate 'magical' potency and thus influence its outcome. They are authentic poetical devices and expressions of personal creativity, often the only tools available for human beings in uncontrollable and desperately chaotic circumstances.

In the festival of the Thesmophoria we encountered the dynamics of various socio-cultural aspects of one ritual. They were no conscious individual ventures in the field of association, but the results of culturally ingrained and indeed irresistible processes of association. Without calling on the multireferentiality of association, we would never have been able to explain the different meanings of various elements of the festival.

In the field of miracles and especially epiphanies, finally, the predominant function of association is "making sense." Unexpected and essentially uncontrollable events, both of a destructive and of a saving nature, are given a place by anchoring them in a higher reality. This manner of *Sinngebung* enhances their import and lends them a slight degree of controllability. They thus became ideal tools in the political competition between rival cities.

In 1949 the greatest expert on ancient Greek religion, Martin P. Nilsson, wrote a public letter to another giant in the field Arthur Darby Nock.

12

In this letter he underlined the enormous impact of associations on the formation of religious ideas, forms and images. By chance or predestination, it was one of the first scholarly articles I read in the early years of my studies in classics, now exactly fifty years ago. It must have receded to the back of my mind, but did not sink into complete oblivion, for it re-emerged recently when I was reflecting on the topic for the present lecture. In his latest book,

13

that other outstanding scholar, Jonathan Z. Smith, whose intellectual

interest started as a fascination with the taxonomy of grasses, explains how religion and its interpretation are heavily dependent on taxonomy and how taxonomy in its turn is a systematisation of association and distinction.

36

The works of these two giants (among many others, of course) encompass my scholarly life. I think it would not be a bad idea – in honour of these two great scholars (*honoris causa* so to speak) – to elect as my next project a study into the workings of association and analogy in ancient religion. One good thing is that I will have plenty of time for it, because, for some unfathomable reason, my wife has called in the services of our agricultural neighbour to take over the care of my grass-plot.

Notes

1 Lecture delivered on the occasion of the award of the title of *doctor honoris causa* by the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Heidelberg on October 21, 2005. I have omitted the introduction with words of gratitude to those responsible for this honour, which does not imply that I am less grateful now than at the moment of the ceremony. I have maintained the original phrasing of the lecture, which, in accordance with the occasion, was intended for a general and varied audience. References are limited to a few sources and modern studies. The three topics of this lecture are based on earlier studies to which I refer the interested reader for more detailed information. Section 1: “The Poetics of the Magical Charm: An Essay in the Power of Words”, in P. Mirecki, M. Meyer (eds), *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*, Leiden, 2002, p. 105-158. Section 2: “The Festival for Bona Dea and the Greek Thesmophoria”, in *Transition and Reversal in Myth and Ritual*, Leiden, 1993 (*Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion*, II), p. 228-288. Section 3: *EPIPHANEIA: A Study in Perception* (in preparation).

2 All these spells can be found in R.L.M. Heim, “Incantamenta magica graeca latina”, *Jahrbuch für Classische Philologie*, Suppl. 19 (1892), p. 465-575.

3DTA n° 67. For this and other curses with lead as an analogon see: D. Ogden, “Binding Spells: Curse Tablets and Voodoo Dolls in the Greek and Roman Worlds”, in V. Flint, R. Gordon, G. Luck, D. Ogden, *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe. Ancient Greece*

and Rome, London, 1997, p. 11-13.

4 It is in one of the 34 fascinating curse tablets found recently in Mainz where they are being deciphered and edited by J. Blänsdorff. A first collection of these texts will be published in: R. Gordon, F. Marco (eds), *Magical Practice in the Latin West: Papers from the international conference held at the University of Zaragoza, 30th Sept.-1st Oct. 2005*, Leiden, forthcoming end 2006 (*Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*). All the examples, if not indicated otherwise, with lead as analoga in the present section are taken from this new collection.

5 For instance DTA n° 105.

6 Best edition: D.R. Jordan, in D.R. Jordan, H. Montgomery, E. Thomassen, (eds), *The World of Ancient Magic. Papers from the first international Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens 4-8 May 1997*, Athens, 1999, p. 119.

7 B. Malinowski, *The Language of Magic and Gardening*, London, 1966, p. 238.

8 J.L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, Cambridge Mass., 1975 [1965], founded the concept of performative speech acts; s.J. Tambiah exploited this for anthropological issues, especially the idea of magic as persuasive analogy, in "The Magical Power of Words", *Man* 3 (1968), p. 175-208. Cf. *id.*, "Form and Meaning of Magical Acts: a point of view", in R. Horton, R. Finnegan (eds), *Modes of Thought: Essays on Thinking in Western and Eastern Societies*, London, 1973, p. 199-229. Both in: *id.*, *Culture, Thought, and Social Action*, Cambridge Mass. London, 1985, p. 17-59; 60-86, where see also: "A Performative Approach to Ritual", p. 123-166.

9 All detailed evidence concerning this festival can be found in the work cited in n. 1 above.

10 The series of miracle stories continues. However, that the faithful are not entirely convinced of the invulnerability of their sanctuary may appear from a post-scriptum: "Diese Tafel wurde mit Liebe und Sorgfalt im Jahr 1998 erneuert. Mit Skt Nicolaus ist zu hoffen, dass sie vor mutwilliger Zerstörung verschont bleibt."

11 As my study on which this third section is grounded is still in preparation (see above n. 1), I may refer the interested reader to the book of my Doktorvater Angelos Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic World*, Oxford, 2005, p. 157-160, for detailed information on epiphanic miracles in the Hellenistic period, with ample literature at p. 163-164.

12 "Letter to Professor Arthur D. Nock on some fundamental concepts in the Science of Religion", *HThR* 42 (1949), p. 71-107.

13 J.Z. Smith, *Relating Religion. Essays in the Study of Religion*, Chicago/London, 2004.

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